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# The Guardian

## Cabinet split exposed as MPs vote overwhelmingly to delay Brexit

● May expected to bring twice-defeated deal back on Tuesday

● PM narrowly wins amendment to keep control of process

● Labour abstains on new referendum but 17 rebels vote against

**Heather Stewart**  
**Jessica Elgot**  
**Peter Walker**

Brexit is to be delayed by at least three months after parliament opted overwhelmingly to ask the EU for an extension to article 50 on another day of divisive votes that exposed the splits in Theresa May's cabinet.

The prime minister is now expected to bring her twice-defeated Brexit deal back to parliament on Tuesday, after she narrowly retained control of the next steps of the process.

The votes, the last in a series of vital parliamentary decisions on Brexit

over several days, mean that Britain's departure from the EU should not now take place before 30 June, giving the prime minister a window to resuscitate her plan.

Eight cabinet ministers, including the Brexit secretary, Steve Barclay, and the leader of the house, Andrea Leadsom, voted against the government's motion extending article 50, seeking to keep the threat of no deal in place. In all, more than half of Tory MPs voted against the motion.

Barclay had wound up the debate for the government, saying "it is time for this house to act in the national interest, it's time to put forward an extension that is realistic" - before

### How MPs voted

Yes	413
No	202
Majority	211

trooping through the no lobby to reject that argument. Government sources insisted he was not intending to resign, despite his unprecedented action.

The shadow Brexit secretary, Sir Keir Starmer, said: "This evening the Brexit secretary voted against his government's own motion on Brexit, which earlier in the day he had defended in the House of Commons. That's the equivalent of the chancellor voting against his own budget. This is a government that has completely lost control."

Labour's divisions over Brexit were also clearly on display, however. The party whipped its MPs to abstain on an amendment **7** ➔



## One soldier to face trial over Bloody Sunday

**Owen Bowcott**  
Legal affairs correspondent

Only one former British paratrooper is to be charged in connection with the killings of civil rights demonstrators on Bloody Sunday, prompting dismay and calls for accountability from families who lost loved ones 47 years ago.

Prosecutors announced the decision yesterday after relatives of the 13 people who died on one of the darkest days of the Troubles in January 1972 marched together through the Derry streets where the victims fell.

After examining evidence in 19 cases, the director of public prosecutions for Northern Ireland, Stephen Herron, said: "It has been concluded that there is sufficient available evidence to prosecute one former soldier, Soldier F, for the murder of James Wray and William McKinney, and for the attempted murders of Joseph Friel, Michael Quinn, Joe Mahon and Patrick O'Donnell. **2** ➔



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## News

▼ John Kelly, whose brother was killed, comforts Alana Burke, who was injured, after the announcement  
PHOTOGRAPH: NIALL CARSON/PA



## Families devastated after just one soldier charged over Bloody Sunday deaths

◀ Continued from page 1

In respect of the other 18 suspects, including 16 former soldiers and two alleged Official IRA members, it has been concluded that the available evidence is insufficient to provide a reasonable prospect of conviction."

Details of the charges were revealed to the families at a hotel, before a formal announcement by Northern Ireland's Public Prosecution Service (PPS) in Derry's Guildhall. The families said they were "devastated" and that the decision was a denial of justice.

The former serviceman will only be identified by the letter used in the 12-year Saville inquiry into Bloody Sunday. The inquiry found the killings were unjustified, none of the dead were carrying a gun, no warnings were given, no soldiers were under threat and the troops were the first to open fire. The image of a priest waving a blood-stained handkerchief as he tried to help a victim to safety on 30 January 1972 was broadcast around the world.

As well as the 13 who died on the day, 15 others were shot. One died months later from an inoperable tumour; many consider him the 14th fatality.

The PPS said prosecutors would now consider charges against others in relation to allegations of perjury.

Herron added: "I am mindful that it has been a long road for the families to reach this point and today will be another extremely difficult day for them. There has been a level of expectation around the prosecution decisions in the light of the findings of the Bloody Sunday inquiry."

"However, much of the material which was available for consideration by the inquiry is not admissible in criminal proceedings due to strict rules of evidence that apply. We recognise the deep disappointment felt by many of those we met with today. As prosecutors, we are required to be wholly objective in our approach."

A PPS statement said: "In some cases the only evidence of what individual soldiers did was contained within their own accounts [to the inquiry], which are inadmissible against them."

Soldier F is to be prosecuted for two murders and four attempted murders. The defence secretary, Gavin Williamson, said the government would pay for his defence: "We are indebted to

## Timeline

## A 47-year campaign

**Sunday 30 January 1972** Parachute Regiment soldiers open fire on demonstrators at a civil rights march in the Bogside area of Derry. Thirteen men are killed; a 14th man subsequently dies of his wounds.

**1 February 1972** The UK prime minister, Edward Heath, appoints the lord chief justice, Lord Widgery, to produce a report on what became known as Bloody Sunday.

**22 February 1972** The Official IRA detonates a car bomb at barracks where the Parachute Regiment is headquartered. Seven people, mostly female cleaners, are killed.

**18 April 1972** Widgery produces his report. Many call it a whitewash.

**1 January 1973** Col Derek Wilford, who commanded Parachute Regiment soldiers on Bloody Sunday, is awarded the OBE.

**29 January 1998** The Labour prime minister, Tony Blair, announces a new inquiry.

**3 April 1998** The Saville inquiry opens. It lasts 12 years and costs hundreds of millions of pounds.

**15 June 2010** Final report of the Saville inquiry is published. It states: "We found no instances where it appeared to us that soldiers either were or might have been justified in firing."

**July 2012** The Police Service of Northern Ireland launches a murder investigation.

**December 2016** Files passed to the Public Prosecution Service for Northern Ireland.

**14 March 2019** Prosecutors announce their decision on charges.  
**Owen Bowcott**



▲ A protester is chased into custody by a soldier on 30 January 1972

those soldiers who served with courage and distinction to bring peace to Northern Ireland. The welfare of our former service personnel is of the utmost importance and we will offer full legal and pastoral support to the individual affected by today's decision. This includes funding all his legal costs and providing welfare support.

"The Ministry of Defence is working across government to drive through a new package of safeguards to ensure our armed forces are not unfairly treated. And the government will urgently reform the system for dealing with legacy issues. Our serving and former personnel cannot live in constant fear of prosecution."

A statement on behalf of all of the families was read out in the Guildhall by four people affected.

John Kelly, whose brother died, said: "There's a terrible disappointment at the outcome ... We have travelled a long journey since our brothers were brutally slaughtered on our streets ... The full cost of Bloody Sunday cannot be measured just in those who died that day." The shootings deepened the conflict, he said.

Alana Burke, who was injured on Bloody Sunday, said the three aims of the relatives' campaign had been to overturn the "whitewash" of the initial inquiry led by Lord Widgery, have the victims' innocence recognised and pursue prosecutions of soldiers responsible for the killings.

Michael McKinney, who lost a brother, continued: "If these crimes had been investigated properly and evidence gathered then the outcome today would have been different ... There can be no statute of limitations used to deny justice, no new laws to protect state killers."

Geraldine Doherty, whose uncle died, said: "Today's decision is 47 years overdue ... Killers should not be given anonymity." She called for those in charge of the army operation to also face prosecution, saying: "If the senior officer in charge of the police operation at Hillsborough [can face charges] then so too can those who were in charge on Bloody Sunday. There can't be one law for the military and political elite and another law for the others."

Ciaran Shields, a solicitor with the Belfast law firm Madden and Finucane, which represents most of the families, said civil cases against the government securing compensation for most of the relatives had already succeeded. The last ones are expected to be agreed by this summer. "When Soldier F ultimately faces charges [in court] we would expect that his anonymity is struck off," Shields added.

The law firm will now examine the PPS's statement and seek a review of its decisions. "If those challenges don't find favour we will then challenge the decisions in the high court in Belfast," Shields said. No British soldier convicted of murder in connection with the Troubles had ever served more than three years in prison, he added.

But Alan Barry, of the Justice for Northern Ireland Veterans group, said that the decision to prosecute Soldier F was "one soldier too many". "It's very one-sided," he said. "No soldier should be charged. It happened 47 years ago, a line in the sand needs to be drawn and people need to move on."

**Journal Leader comment** Page 2 →  
**More on Bloody Sunday**  
Pages 14-15 →



# Punk to president? Democrat O'Rourke starts run for White House

**Sabrina Siddiqui** *Washington*  
**Ed Pilkington** *New York*

Beto O'Rourke, the former US congressman whose grassroots campaign in Texas last year brought him national attention, has announced he will seek the Democratic nomination for president.

Ending months of speculation, O'Rourke yesterday threw his hat into a crowded field vying for the party's blessing to challenge Donald Trump in the 2020 presidential election.

O'Rourke, 46, rose to national prominence during the 2018 mid-terms, when his bid to unseat Ted Cruz in the Texas senate race garnered unprecedented grassroots support and a historic fundraising haul.

Although he fell short, O'Rourke outperformed expectations for any Democrat in deeply conservative Texas, falling less than three percentage points behind Cruz, the Republican incumbent.

O'Rourke swiftly emerged as a top Democratic presidential contender, drawing comparisons to Barack Obama for his charisma and hopeful message. "This is going to be a positive campaign that seeks to bring out the very best from every single one of us, that seeks to unite a very divided country," O'Rourke said in a video announcement posted yesterday morning in



◀ Beto O'Rourke on the campaign trail in Texas last year. He has been compared to Barack Obama but faces a tough fight to become the Democratic nominee

PHOTOGRAPH: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY

which he was pictured sitting next to his wife on a sofa. "We saw the power of this in Texas."

O'Rourke stated his intention in the video to "travel this country and listen to those I seek to serve". He said he would then return to El Paso on 30 March to kick off the campaign and invited would-be supporters "to the greatest grassroots campaign this country has ever seen".



▲ Beto O'Rourke (left) in 1990s band Foss. He was the group's guitarist

O'Rourke has the backing of a network of advocates who have independently been campaigning for him to run. The organisation Draft Beto has already mobilised thousands of grassroots volunteers, many on college campuses, and held 30 house parties in nine states.

Its co-founder, Nate Lerner, told the Guardian: "Now the real work begins. We're shifting the grassroots, financial, and political resources we've built over to Beto's campaign and focusing entirely on electing Beto in 2020."

Yesterday, O'Rourke made his first trip to Iowa, popping into a coffee shop where he fielded questions while characteristically gesticulating. Donald Trump told reporters in the Oval Office: "Well, I think he's got a lot of hand movement. Is he crazy or is that just how he acts?"

O'Rourke has joined a diverse Democratic field that includes senators Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, Kamala Harris, Kirsten Gillibrand, Cory Booker, Amy Klobuchar, and Hawaii Representative Tulsi Gabbard.

A onetime guitarist for an El Paso punk band called Foss, O'Rourke had kept a relatively low profile as a three-term congressman with little name recognition before his senate bid. But as his upstart campaign to defeat Cruz gained steam, O'Rourke - 6ft 4in, with a beaming smile and a thumping stage presence - transformed into an overnight celebrity who earned the approval of public figures from the singer Beyoncé to the basketball star LeBron James.

During the Senate race, he wore down his political shoe leather with a relentless road trip to all of Texas's 254 counties, built up an army of volunteers that by the end was 25,000 strong, and amassed a fortune of more than \$70m - a sum greater than any in US Senate campaign history - drawn from all over the country, overwhelmingly in small donations. But he faces some daunting challenges.

He will need to elevate himself from state-level politics to the far more testing stage of national and world affairs. The Washington Post's political

reporter, Jenna Johnson, spent time with O'Rourke at the Mexican border in January and noted: "When it comes to many of the biggest policy issues facing the country today, O'Rourke's default stance is to call for a debate."

He also has a more conservative voting record on Capitol Hill than many might have expected at a time when the Democratic party has taken a leap to the left in reaction to Trump. He has come under liberal fire for being too closely aligned with Wall Street, insufficiently daring on healthcare and under the influence of the fossil fuel industry.

He will need to find his feet against the economic radicalism of Sanders and Warren, the civil rights radicalism of Harris and Booker, and the ambitious immigration plan of Julian Castro, who was housing secretary under Obama.

And he will be up against perhaps the biggest gun of all in the Democratic field if Joe Biden, Barack Obama's vice-president, throws his hat in the ring in the coming weeks.

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# Nobel nomination for girl who inspired global climate change protests

**Damian Carrington**  
**Libby Brooks**  
**Matthew Taylor**

Greta Thunberg, the founder of the Youth Strike for Climate movement, has been nominated for the Nobel peace prize, a day before the biggest demonstrations yet to demand action over the climate crisis.

Children at tens of thousands of schools in 1,659 towns and cities across 105 countries are due to take part in the walkouts today, inspired by 16-year-old Thunberg's solo protest outside the Swedish parliament that began last year.

"We have proposed Greta Thunberg because if we do nothing to halt climate change it will be the cause of wars, conflict and refugees," said the Norwegian Socialist MP Freddy André Øvstegård. "Greta Thunberg has launched a mass movement which I see as a major contribution to peace."

Thunberg wrote on Twitter: "[I am]

honoured and very grateful for this nomination. Tomorrow we #school-strike for our future. And we will continue to do so for as long as it takes."

She challenged leaders in person at the UN climate summit in late 2018 and at Davos in January. "Change is coming whether they like it or not," she said.

National politicians and some academics can nominate candidates for the Nobel peace prize, which will be awarded in December. There are 301 candidates for the 2019 prize: 223 individuals and 78 organisations.

In the UK more than 10,000 children walked out of class last month and organisers expect today's event to be even bigger, with about 100 events across the country.

One of the UK's most prominent school strikers, Holly Gillibrand, 13, will be taking part, after staging a weekly action outside her school in Fort William, in the Highlands. "There are thousands of students out there who care very deeply about the environment and are willing to miss school

▼ Greta Thunberg (centre) has become the focal point for a global youth climate change protest

PHOTOGRAPH: STÉPHANIE LECOCQ/EPA



Global climate strike events planned for today



Source: Fridays for Future

to demand that politicians take this crisis seriously," she said.

While some politicians have opposed the school strikes, many have supported them, including Germany's Angela Merkel and Ireland's Leo Varadkar. The mayors of Paris, Milan, Sydney, Austin, Philadelphia, Portland, Oslo, Barcelona and Montreal added their backing yesterday.

Anne Hidalgo, the mayor of Paris, said: "It is truly inspiring to see young people, led by brilliant young women, making their voices heard and demanding urgent climate action. They are absolutely correct that our actions today will determine their futures. My message to young citizens is clear: it is our responsibility as adults and political leaders to learn from you and deliver the future you want."

Anna Taylor, 17, who co-founded the UK student climate network, said: "Young people in the UK have shown that we're angry at the lack of government leadership on climate change."

"Those in power are not only betraying us, and taking away our future, but are responsible for the climate crisis that's unfolding in horrendous ways."

Taylor said the UK had been relatively shielded from the effects of the crisis, adding that those least responsible for contributing to climate change were "suffering the worst effects".

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Journal George Monbiot Page 4 →

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## Making a splash at 46 Cracknell to be Boat Race's oldest entrant

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## Spain's master of light Sorolla on show at the National Gallery

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# National

# Weapons offences at highest level for a decade, official figures reveal

**Jamie Grierson**

Home affairs correspondent

The criminal justice system last year dealt with the highest number of knife and offensive weapon offences in nearly a decade, official figures show.

In 2018, 21,484 knife and offensive weapon offences were recorded, the most dealt with since 2009, when 25,103 offences were registered, according to the Ministry of Justice.

The figures come after the chancellor, Philip Hammond, handed an extra £100m to police forces in England and Wales after a spate of fatal stabbings led to a renewed focus on the response to knife crime and fresh debate over police resources.

The justice minister Rory Stewart said: "Knife crime destroys lives

and shatters communities, and this government is doing everything in its power to tackle its devastating consequences. Sentences for those carrying knives are getting tougher – they are more likely to be sent straight to prison, and for longer – than at any time in the last decade.

"But we are doing more – yesterday the government committed a further £100m to tackle knife crime, while our serious violence strategy works to prevent young people picking up a knife in the first place."

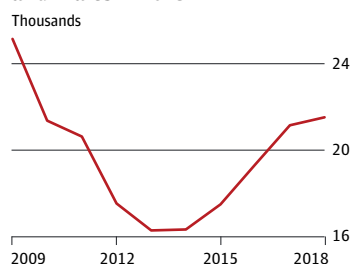
Total funding for forces in England and Wales fell by 19% in real terms from 2010-11 to 2018-19, according to the National Audit Office. Officer numbers have dropped by nearly 20,000 since 2010.

The figures show offenders are now more likely to receive an

immediate custodial sentence for a knife and offensive weapon offence, with custodial sentences at the highest level since the statistical series started in 2008.

In 2018, almost 8,000 or 37% of

### There were 21,484 knife and weapon offences in England and Wales in 2018



Source: Ministry of Justice

knife and offensive weapon offences resulted in an immediate custodial sentence, compared with 5,734 or 20% in 2008. Average length of sentences also increased over the same period, from 5.3 months to 8.1 months.

For 72% of offenders it was their first knife or offensive weapon possession offence, a proportion at its lowest level since the 2008, when it was 80%. The criminal justice system dealt with 13,555 offences involving possession of an article with a blade or point last year.

There were 7,016 cases of an individual being found with an offensive weapon, and 913 in which a blade or weapon was used to make threats. In 4,430 instances in 2018, 21%, the offender was aged 10 to 17. The proportion of cases leading to a caution fell from 30% in 2008 to 11% last year.

Nearly 4,000 offences were dealt with by a suspended sentence, while just over 5,000 resulted in a community punishment.

The figures also showed that repeat offenders were more likely to go to prison, though more than a third of those sentenced under a "two strikes" regime were spared immediate custody last year.

In 2015, minimum sentences were introduced for those aged 16 and over who were convicted of a second, or subsequent charge of possession of a knife or offensive weapon.

Diana Fawcett, the chief officer at the charity Victim Support, said: "It's horrifying to see knife crime offences at the highest levels in a decade, which is yet more evidence that violent crime is an increasing problem that must be tackled urgently.

"Families and communities are being devastated by knife crime and it is the responsibility of all agencies to come together to solve this."

In the 12 months to March last year, the number of fatal stabbings in England and Wales reached the highest level since records began more than 70 years ago.

## Education

## 'It's about confidence': pupils learn how to cope with attacks

**Sally Weale**

Education correspondent

**S**uzanne Palka is in the business of saving lives. In a crowded hall of an east London college, she is showing teenagers how to stop their friends bleeding to death from a knife wound. "The key message is, if someone is stabbed, you need to apply direct pressure to the wound. It's very effective. It buys time for the ambulance to get through and it saves lives."

Palka is a youth education co-ordinator at the British Red Cross and one of a range of experts brought into Newham sixth form college (NewVic) for a day of Life Not Knife workshops designed to teach students how to protect themselves at a time of growing knife crime. It's the event's 10th year, but the increase in knife crime has given it new urgency.

"I've had a lot of people ask me



▲ Students at Newham sixth form college in east London attend special lessons in first aid and self-defence  
PHOTOGRAPH: GRAEME ROBERTSON/GUARDIAN

**'You need to apply  
direct pressure to the  
wound. It buys time  
for the ambulance  
to get through  
and it saves lives'**

**Suzanne Palka**  
British Red Cross

today – why?" says Palka of the increase in stabbings. "I don't have the answers. But I can show them simple first aid and it can save lives. They're frightened to help. But the quicker they act, the greater the likelihood of that person's survival. It's about confidence."

At the other end of the hall, a group of students are getting self-defence training. They practise using their forearms to block and a wristlock to disarm. Elsewhere, there are trauma staff from the Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel who treat injuries, and the charity workers who join them on the wards to try to rebuild the lives of those affected by knife crime.

Michael Carver has brought some of the tools used to save the lives of stabbing victims. There's a Gigli saw to cut through the sternum to provide emergency access to the heart; an intraosseous needle, which drills into bone to enable the delivery of drugs and fluids if vascular access is impossible after major blood loss, and a stoma bag, used to collect faeces after a knife wound in the intestines. The students handle them with avid curiosity.

"Statistics can dehumanise it," Carver says, "but they are all individuals with their own trials and tribulations." The young men who strut around with their chests puffed

out are often the ones in tears on the wards where no one can see them.

"We are getting much, much better at saving lives," Carver adds, but they do not always succeed and it is hard when someone has to break the news to a desperate mother that her 15-year-old son has died. "It's demoralising and draining when you've worked a really long time on someone and they don't come through."

Newham had the highest murder rate in the capital last year. As the NewVic event got under way, figures from the Ministry of Justice provided a stark reminder of the scale of the problem. Last year the criminal justice system dealt with 21,484 knife and offensive weapon offences, the highest number since 2009.

Many students are frightened. "When you are out there, you have that feeling that anything can happen any time," said Anwar Said, 17. "You don't feel safe."

Ricardo Guerra, a 16-year-old fellow student who recently arrived in the UK from Venezuela, was shocked by the knife crime in London. "A friend of mine was going to his house and a group of three people with knives attacked him and stole his wallet. I come from Caracas, the second most dangerous place in the world. I thought London was safe, but I started feeling a little bit less safe," he said.

Sanjeeva Camillus is from the St Giles Trust which works in the Royal London's major trauma centre. He has worked with a young man who was blinded after being shot and two young people who have stoma bags after suffering knife wounds. His youngest client was 12.

"I'm here," Camillus said, "to show there are consequences to carrying a knife."



▼ Jeremy Corbyn shortly before the voting in which 41 of his MPs refused to follow his abstention line

PHOTOGRAPH: MARK DUFFY/UK PARLIAMENT



# Corbyn describes second referendum as 'realistic option' – but not for now

Dan Sabbagh

Labour ordered its MPs to abstain on a second referendum amendment last night but its internal divisions were laid bare by 24 MPs who defied the whip to support it.

The amendment, put forward by the Independent Group (TIG) and seeking a delay so another referendum could be held, was roundly defeated by 334 votes to 85, with 17 Labour MPs voting against it. It would not have passed even if all those who abstained had voted in favour.

Ruth Smeeth, the MP for Stoke-on-Trent North, quit her job as parliamentary private secretary to the Labour deputy leader, Tom Watson, to vote against the amendment.

Others who voted included those whose concerns were well known,

including Caroline Flint, Kate Hoey, John Mann and Gareth Snell.

Flint, Hoey and Mann were also among six Labour MPs who voted against Hilary Benn's separate amendment that would have given parliament further control of the Brexit process. It was defeated by two votes.

Sir Keir Starmer, the shadow Brexit secretary, told the Commons that Labour was supportive of the second referendum principle, but that it was "a question of timing".

This prompted Anna Soubry, of the TIG, to call out "shame on you".

Following the vote, Jeremy Corbyn said: "Today I reiterate my conviction that a deal can be agreed based on our alternative plan that can command support across the House."

"I also reiterate our support for a people's vote – not as a political point-scoring exercise but as a realistic option to break the deadlock."

The Labour decision to abstain to avoid a more profound split in the party was underpinned by a statement from the People's Vote campaign: "We do not think today is the right time to test the will of the house on the case for a new public vote."

Yesterday's votes were a moment, it said, for parliament to declare it wanted an extension of article 50 "so that, after two and a half years of vexed negotiations, our political leaders can finally decide on what Brexit means".

Labour MPs who voted for a second referendum included David Lammy, Owen Smith and Siobhan McDonagh, considered by some as the most likely to defect to TIG. Lloyd Russell-Moyle in effect abstained by walking through both lobbies.

McDonagh, speaking before the voting, had said: "Sometimes politics can be messy but I always think it's better to try and be straightforward."

## Party rebels

### Labour MPs who refused to abstain

17 Labour MPs voted against the amendment for a second referendum



**Kevin Barron**  
Rother Valley



**Ronnie Campbell**  
Blyth Valley



**Rosie Cooper**  
West Lancashire



**Caroline Flint**  
Don Valley



**Yvonne Fovargue**  
Makerfield



**Kate Hoey**  
Vauxhall



**Helen Jones**  
Warrington North



**Kevan Jones**  
North Durham



**Emma Lewell-Buck**  
South Shields



**Justin Madders**  
Ellesmere Port and Neston



**John Mann**  
Bassetlaw



**Stephanie Peacock**  
Barnsley East



**Ruth Smeeth**  
Stoke-on-Trent North



**Gareth Snell**  
Stoke-on-Trent Central



**John Spellar**  
Warley



**Graham Stringer**  
Blackley and Broughton



**Derek Twigg**  
Halton

Six of them also voted against the Benn amendment

**Kevin Barron**  
Rother Valley

**Ronnie Campbell**  
Blyth Valley

**Caroline Flint**  
Don Valley

**Kate Hoey**  
Vauxhall

**John Mann**  
Bassetlaw

**Graham Stringer**  
Blackley and Broughton



*'We do not think today is the right time to test the will of the House of Commons on the case for a new public vote'*

**Spokesperson**  
*People's Vote campaign*

I support a people's vote and I will be voting for a people's vote tonight. Simple. No ifs. No buts. No 'maybe next week'. Just voting for it tonight."

Smeeh, also speaking before the vote, explained her decision to quit to vote against the amendment, saying: "I made a promise to my constituents that I would not consider a people's vote, and I can't just pretend this vote is not happening. I need to consider the views of my constituents and vote against the people's vote."

Others who voted against a second referendum included the junior shadow ministers Yvonne Fovargue, Emma Lewell-Buck, Justin Madders, and Stephanie Peacock. Party sources said their fate would be a matter for the party whips.

Senior Labour sources said they were suspicious of the motives of TIG in putting their amendment, and said they believed some were backing it to expose Labour tensions.

But TIG insiders said they were fed up being told to wait for the right time to put the vote. Chris Leslie, who has joined TIG, added: "So now we know it. Labour frontbench won't support a people's vote. Long suspected, now confirmed."

Sarah Wollaston had twice talked about putting forward a second referendum amendment this year, but was persuaded by People's Vote campaigners to withdraw, because of worries that a bad result could damage the credibility of the campaign.

Labour MPs who are opposed to a second referendum also enthusiastically backed the opportunity to hold a vote in parliament on the issue, with one MP saying it would "lance the boil" and prove there was no support for a second referendum in parliament.

Caroline Flint, a Labour MP opposed to a second referendum, had said she was "really delighted" that Bercow had selected the amendment because she would have the opportunity to vote against it.

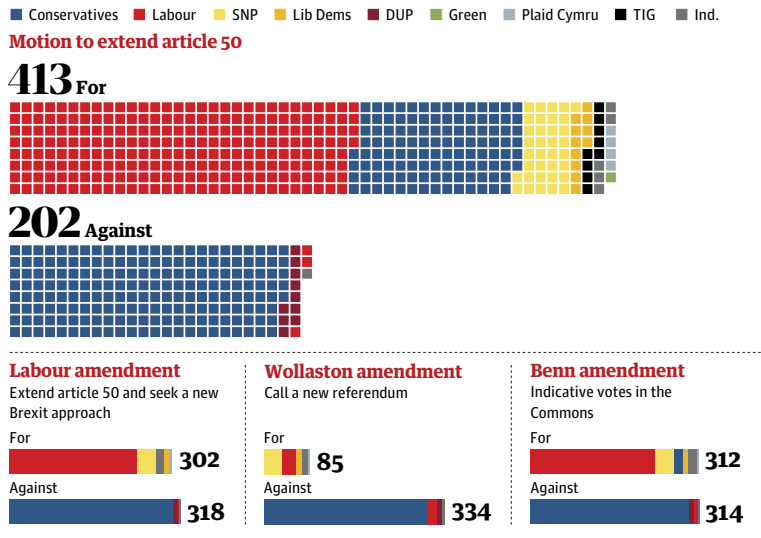
Phil Wilson, the Labour MP for Sedgefield, devised a different strategy for obtaining a referendum with his fellow Labour MP Peter Kyle, by offering an amendment at the next meaningful vote to back Theresa May's deal in exchange for a referendum.

"Other opposition parties and groupings may have their reasons for putting down an amendment on a people's vote, but I will be abstaining today," he said.

Alastair Campbell, a leading figure in the People's Vote campaign, said it was wrong to press a people's vote amendment when the issue of the day was article 50 extension.

He said a second referendum was "a possible solution to the current crisis, not an option within it" and that there would be more opportunities ahead when other options to solve the Brexit crisis had been exhausted.

## Explained The amendments and motion



Source: House of Commons. Note: tellers are not included in totals, but are included in the graphics

### What has happened?

The Commons yesterday passed a motion for the government to extend the Brexit deadline beyond 29 March. Ministers were obliged to table the motion after Theresa's May's Brexit plan was voted down on Tuesday. There were five amendments voted on, all of which were defeated. One was pulled.

### What was voted on?

First there was a cross-party amendment seeking a second referendum; this was defeated by a huge margin of 334 votes to 85. Then came another cross-party amendment, to impose so-called indicative votes by MPs to determine a consensus outcome, which was defeated by just two votes, 314 to 312.

Slightly confusingly this was preceded by an amendment to that amendment, which sought to limit any delay to Brexit caused by the process; this also narrowly lost.

Then there was a vote on a Labour frontbench amendment pushing the party's own Brexit plan, which fell by 318 votes to 302.

Following this the House had an amendment put forward that sought to discover if, under parliamentary protocol, May could bring her Brexit plan back to the Commons again. It was pulled by its proposer, Labour's Chris Bryant.

Finally, the main government motion on extending article 50 (delaying Brexit), was unamended, and passed by 413 votes to 202.

### So Brexit will be delayed?

Yes, on the assumption the EU member states unanimously agree to the extension. If they don't, which seems unlikely, the UK will still leave the EU on 29 March, but without a deal.

The government motion decrees that the government will seek agreement with the EU for an extension to article 50 beyond 29 March. It says that if a Brexit plan is agreed by 20 March (it is widely assumed that the prime minister, Theresa May, will make a third attempt to squeeze her deal through the Commons early next week) then

there will be a brief extension, to 30 June, allowing legislation to pass. If not, the delay will last longer.

### Will the UK get new MEPs?

If the longer extension happens then, according to the government, the country would take part in the European elections in 10 weeks from now. And, as we have learned this week, UK officials are already making contingency plans for such an eventuality.

### But the indicative votes will not happen?

Perhaps not, it is uncertain. The cross-party motion seeking to impose this on the government was very narrowly defeated. But opening the debate, May's de facto deputy, the Cabinet Office minister, David Lidington, said the government would push for such a plan if May's deal fell again and there was a resulting long delay to Brexit.

### Is a second referendum now off the table?

It depends who you ask. Brexiters reacted to the crushing defeat of that plan by cheerily tweeting about its demise. But supporters of the scheme were adamant that this was an inevitable defeat for a premature effort at forcing the issue. It was, nonetheless, a setback for them. It is obvious that if the plan is ever to pass in the Commons it will need the wholehearted, whipped support, of the Labour leadership.

### Was it a better day for the prime minister?

Yesterday was probably better than Wednesday, but that was, admittedly, a low bar. May won the government motion (even though she did not want it) and the amendments were all seen off. But she had long promised that 29 March would be Brexit day, and it is a heavy political blow for her that she is not delivering this.

Also even the move to allow a free vote on the main motion did not prevent further signs of cabinet disunity, with ministers lining up in the "no" lobby.

Continued from page 1

## Splits show as MPs vote to request article 50 extension

calling for a second referendum - but 24 Labour MPs defied the whips to vote for it; and 17 rebelled to vote against, including several frontbenchers.

The Stoke-on-Trent North MP, Ruth Smeeh, resigned as the parliamentary private secretary to Labour's deputy leader, Tom Watson, after voting against a referendum. "This was a really difficult decision to make, but I made a promise to my constituents that I would not consider a people's vote, and I can't just pretend this vote is not happening," she told her local paper, the Stoke Sentinel.

The amendment, tabled by the former Tory Sarah Wollaston, now of the Independent Group, and signed by about 30 MPs, was voted down by 85 votes to 334.

The official People's Vote campaign had urged MPs not to support the amendment, arguing it was not yet the time to press the case. But Anna Soubry of TIG criticised Labour for declining to support it, saying, "this is a betrayal of Labour party members and voters, Labour MPs, Labour's conference policy and, most importantly, the British public. The Labour party leadership are determined to deliver Brexit, which would harm our country."

Asked whether Conservative MPs who had voted against the government's motion would be disciplined, May's spokesman said it was clear it was a free vote last night, but that cabinet ministers who had voted against the motion would now be expected to follow government policy.

### Effect of abstentions Lobby looking empty

The view in the voting lobby last night for MPs supporting the amendment backing a second referendum. The proposal, tabled by former Tory MP Sarah Wollaston, was defeated by 334 votes to 85. Labour had issued a three-line whip ordering MPs to abstain from voting. However, 24 broke this to vote on the proposal, 17 of them against it. Lib Dem education spokeswoman Layla Moran posted the picture on Twitter, writing: "Where is the rest of the Labour party? A few notable exceptions but..."



"The government's motion won with a substantial majority, one in the name of the prime minister," the spokesman said. "It was a free vote and people were free to exercise their votes as they so choose. But the cabinet is united around allowing the UK to leave the EU with a deal and we need to get on and deliver that," he said.

Asked if cabinet ministers were now bound by the government's position to extend article 50, which was passed overwhelmingly by 412 votes to 202, a No 10 spokesman said: "Yes, that is how collective responsibility works."

The past few days have seen an extraordinary collapse in Tory discipline, with four ex-remainder cabinet ministers abstaining on a whipped vote on Wednesday night, and May forced to offer a free vote on yesterday's motion to delay Brexit.

The prime minister has consistently emphasised the importance of keeping the threat of a no-deal Brexit on the table, to avoid weakening Britain's negotiating hand. But a group of her own ministers threatened to resign en masse if she refused to offer them a vote on requesting to extend article 50.

The government's motion said that if May's plan were approved by next Wednesday, the government would request a brief extension until 30 June, to give parliament time to pass the legislation needed to leave the EU.

Government sources indicated another meaningful vote was likely to be held on Tuesday, with Downing Street working intensively to win over Democratic Unionists and the Brexit-backing European Research Group.

If the deal does not pass on Tuesday, it is likely May will set out her request for a longer extension before the European council summit on Thursday.

Downing Street said the blame for delay lay with parliament and was against the prime minister's will. "The prime minister absolutely wanted and strived for the UK to be leaving the EU on 29 March. Everything she has done since entering office was intended to deliver that," the spokesman said.

Earlier, MPs narrowly passed up a chance to seize control of the Brexit process through a series of indicative votes in the Commons, defeating by 312 votes to 314 an amendment tabled by the Labour MPs Hilary Benn and Yvette Cooper, and the Conservative former minister Sir Oliver Letwin.

The amendment called for steps to "enable the House of Commons to find a way forward that can command majority support". Six Labour MPs voted against the motion.

The Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, said: "After the last few days of government chaos and some defeats, all of us now have the opportunity and the responsibility to work together to find a solution to the crisis facing this country, where the government has so dramatically failed to do so."

There is no EU consensus over how to handle a request for an extension. Before the Commons vote, the European council president, Donald Tusk, expressed his backing for an extension beyond three months.

"During my consultations ahead of [the leaders' summit next week], I will appeal to the EU27 to be open to a long extension if the UK finds it necessary to rethink its Brexit strategy and build consensus around it," Tusk tweeted.



National  
Brexit

# EU reaction

## Tusk suggests leaders grant long delay to allow rethink

**Daniel Boffey** *Brussels*  
**Jennifer Rankin** *Brussels*  
**Philip Oltermann** *Berlin*

Donald Tusk is pushing EU leaders to consider a long Brexit delay to allow the UK to rethink its goals in the negotiations after the Commons backed an extension of article 50.

In an apparent shift in the EU's red lines, the European council president suggested even before MPs voted that a lengthy extension beyond 29 March could be granted simply to give Westminster time to recalibrate. Officials had until now said that only calling an election or second referendum could justify a delay beyond a few months.

"During my consultations ahead of [an EU summit next week], I will appeal to the EU27 to be open to a long extension if the UK finds it necessary to rethink its Brexit strategy and build consensus around it," Tusk tweeted.

However, a European commission spokesman expressed concerns in Brussels over the impact of a long extension after MPs voted 413 to 202 to push back Brexit to at least 30 June.

"A request for an extension of article 50 requires the unanimous agreement of all 27 member states," the spokesman said. "It will be for the European council to consider such a request, giving priority to the need to ensure the functioning of the EU institutions and taking into account the reasons for and duration of a possible extension."

Delays of between a few weeks and 21 months have been mooted, with the Irish deputy prime minister, Simon Coveney, being the latest yesterday to suggest a lengthy delay could be helpful. "If you have a long extension of article 50, that opens up the debate in a much broader way to the overall approach that the United Kingdom takes to Brexit. That may facilitate a fundamental rethink, it may not, we just don't know," Coveney said.

Detlef Seif, the Brexit point person for the Christian Democrat party of the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, told the Guardian the European commission could even relax its refusal to negotiate the terms of a future trade deal during such a 21-month extension in order to "rebuild trust".

"I agree with [EU deputy chief negotiator] Sabine Weyand that the much-discussed technical solution for doing customs checks without the infrastructure of a hard border don't yet exist," said Seif.

"But if Theresa May were to submit a declaration to Brussels in which she stated her intention to spend the next 21 months developing such technical solutions in order to avoid a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic, then that should suffice to grant an extension."

The heads of state and government will need to come to a unanimous view when they meet at the summit next Thursday and Friday.



# May rounds on cabinet ministers who defied whip on no-deal motion

**Jessica Elgot**  
*Chief political correspondent*

A furious Theresa May rounded on her cabinet ministers yesterday, upbraiding the four who defied a three-line whip and abstained on the no-deal motion on Wednesday night.

In a cabinet meeting described as "difficult" and "tense" the day after a chaotic night in parliament, the prime minister angrily criticised the rebel ministers as well as the entire cabinet for its tendency to leak - only for business secretary, Greg Clark, to leap to the rebel group's defence.

The other rebels were the Scottish secretary, David Mundell, the work and pensions secretary, Amber Rudd, and the justice secretary, David Gauke.

After the confrontation, Geoffrey Cox, the attorney general, urged cabinet ministers to unite and focus on efforts to win over the Democratic Unionist party before the third meaningful vote.

Strenuous diplomatic overtures have been made to the DUP, whose leader, Arlene Foster, suggested yesterday that she was ready to broker a deal to secure the party's backing.

Foster, who is visiting Washington for an event she attended with the Irish prime minister, Leo Varadkar, said her party was back in talks with the government. She said she believed a compromise would be found.

"We want a deal, we've said we want a deal, and we're talking to them around that," Foster told the BBC. "We hope that can be the case, because nobody wants to leave without a deal.

We know that is bad for the whole of the UK and we want to make sure that we get there. When you come to the end of the negotiation, that's when you really start to see the whites of people's eyes and you get down to the point where you can make a deal."

Foster said her party's main concern was "not only about the attorney general changing the advice" and added that the government had to prove that the constitutional integrity of the UK would be preserved.

The prime minister's spokesman said there had been a "productive, open and honest discussion" at the political cabinet yesterday afternoon and that the "cabinet collectively agreed to redouble their resolve on working to deliver on the result of the referendum to leave the EU, by securing support for a deal".

Later yesterday eight cabinet ministers, including the Brexit secretary, Stephen Barclay, voted against the prime minister's plan to delay article 50 but Downing Street made clear that all would be bound by collective responsibility to support the plan.

Sources said the prime minister's anger at cabinet was not reserved for her rebellious ministers, however. She scolded her entire cabinet over the scale of leaks, suggesting some ministers were self-serving and concerned only with their leadership prospects.

One cabinet source described the atmosphere as "difficult and

uncomfortable" and said the prime minister had made it very clear how angry she was at the scenes on Wednesday night.

"It was quite tense in the room, but people did need to clear the air, the conversation needed to be had," the source added. "The remainder ministers said their piece and they got what they thought they would get - a dressing down."

Clark, the business secretary, attempted the longest explanation about the group's actions, saying that ministers had been promised a free vote in order to vote down no deal but had then found themselves being ordered to vote the other way.

"They are mostly angry about the cock-up," one source said.

But there was little appetite for the explanation, with the chief whip Julian Smith abruptly leaving the room.

"No one was much in the mood to hear about it," one source said. At



▲ Amber Rudd, Greg Clark and David Gauke defied a three-line Tory whip





▲ Theresa May found something to laugh about as the Commons debated extending article 50 yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: JESSICA TAYLOR/UK PARLIAMENT

the end of the meeting it was Cox who appealed for unity, saying he could understand how people could feel marginalised. "His intervention, probably because it came from him, seemed to soothe a lot of nerves," one cabinet source said.

A new route to winning over both the DUP and some members of the hard-Brexit European Research Group emerged as some members of the latter group told the Guardian they could be persuaded to back May's Brexit deal if Cox gave clearer legal advice about how the UK could withdraw from an international treaty.

The majority of ERG MPs voted against May's revised deal, but discussions have now started which aim to get legal advice on how the UK could unilaterally end the backstop (the mechanism designed to keep an open border on the island of Ireland) using article 62 of the Vienna convention.

Some leading lawyers have questioned the plan. Martin Howe, QC, the only non-MP in the ERG "star chamber", which looked at Cox's legal advice before the meaningful vote this week, said the idea was a non-starter.

Journal Aditya Chakraborty  
Page 5 →

## Trump 'I would have done things differently'

David Smith  
Washington

Donald Trump yesterday renewed his criticism of Theresa May's handling of Brexit, claiming she ignored his advice on how to negotiate and that now the issue was "tearing a country apart".

The US president also insisted that a second referendum on Britain's departure from the EU would be "unfair" and said he looked forward to making a bilateral trade agreement with the UK.

Trump, who is friendly with the former Ukip leader Nigel Farage, has long been a cheerleader for Brexit and has realised its domestic parallels. During his presidential election campaign in 2016 he tweeted: "They will soon be calling me MR. BREXIT!"

Speaking yesterday in the Oval Office alongside the Irish prime minister, Leo Varadkar, Trump said: "It's a very complex thing right now, it's tearing a country apart, it's actually tearing a lot of countries apart, and it's a shame it has to be that way. But I think we will stay right in our lane."

"I'm surprised at how badly it's all gone from the standpoint of a negotiation. I gave the prime minister my ideas on how to negotiate it and I think you would have been successful. She didn't listen to that and that's fine ... I think it could have been negotiated in a different manner, frankly."

Speaking about the idea for a second Brexit referendum in Britain, Trump

said: "I don't think another vote would be possible because it would be very unfair to the people that won."

Earlier in the day Trump said the EU would "negotiate its own trade deals, including with the US, for the first time in decades ... we can do a very big trade deal with the UK".

Turning to Varadkar, visiting the White House to celebrate St Patrick's Day, he said: "Leo, I'm sure you agree on that. Would you like to express your feelings on Brexit? Maybe I shouldn't let you do it, I'll just get you in trouble."

The taoiseach replied: "We have a different opinion Mr President. I regret that Brexit's happening."

He added: "I think it will be a few years until the UK sorts itself out, but in the meantime the European Union is available to talk trade with the US."

The White House has some strong Brexit backers but many in the US business community are baffled by it all. Yesterday Trump tweeted: "My administration looks forward to negotiating a large scale trade deal [with the UK]. The potential is unlimited!"



▲ Leo Varadkar, Nancy Pelosi, Arlene Foster and Donald Trump at the White House yesterday

## Business Firms want details to halt no-deal plans

Staff and agencies

British business groups gave a cautious reaction to the parliamentary vote to extend article 50 as they warned that considerable uncertainty still clouded the Brexit process.

The British Chambers of Commerce said the economy was "still firmly in the danger zone" because the time-frame and purpose of an extension had yet to be decided.

"Once again, businesses are left waiting for parliament to reach a consensus on the way forward and are losing faith that they will achieve this. In the meantime, firms are continuing to enact their contingency plans, anxiety amongst many businesses is rising, and customers are being lost," said its director general, Adam Marshall.

The Confederation of British Industry said the vote showed there was still common sense in Westminster but more had to be done. "Without a

radically new approach, business fears this is simply a stay of execution," the lobby group said.

The Institute of Directors said the Brexit process had "parted with reason" a long time ago and a no-deal departure was still the default option. Edwin Morgan, its interim director general, said: "Few in business will be stepping forward to thank parliament for its efforts this week. We know a tiny, tiny amount more about the next steps than we did a couple of days ago, but the problem is that the clock is still ticking and no deal is still the default."

The British Retail Consortium said the vote offered "a glimmer of hope" but Britain still stood on a no-deal "knife edge." Markets reacted with caution. The pound dipped slightly after the extension vote to \$1.322.

Ian Wright, the chief executive of the Food and Drink Federation, said the vote provided clarity on how the Commons might break the Brexit logjam. "However, as the focus moves away from a 29 March exit date towards a later date, we must not overlook that 29 March is still the date in the withdrawal act. It is critical that MPs now follow through with actions."

"The government must swiftly agree the length of delay with the EU and table a statutory instrument to change that date. Only then can the diversion of time, effort and money towards no-deal planning be halted."

Sketch  
John Crace



## A win (of sorts) for the Leader in Name Only on another dismal day in the Big Brexit House

Finally. Theresa May had found a vote she could win. A narrow two-vote victory. A largely pyrrhic victory, as the government had won on a motion to extend article 50 it had never actually wanted to put to the house in the first place. Even when the Leader In Name Only is winning, she still contrives to lose. Another crank on the pathos handle. The government still just about had control of the parliamentary timetable. For a few more days at least.

Not that Lino took any pleasure in the result. No smile escaped her lips, no sign of relief. Just a hunched figure, lost in a near catatonic state. She clearly hates her life almost as much as she hates many of her colleagues. Hating is one of the few things she does well. The body language between her and Philip Hammond was of a couple who had long since realised there had never been two of them in this relationship. She left long before the final result was declared.

With Lino's voice on either life support or a damage limitation exercise, it had been left to David Lidington, minister for the Cabinet Office, to open the latest Brexit debate the government had been hoping to avoid. He looked like a man who knew he had drawn the short straw. Lidington is usually one of the cabinet's more able performers, yet he too has been corroded by Brexit. His self confidence is shot, anxiety is now lined on his face and he has developed a nervous tic. Not as pronounced as Chris Grayling's, but similar. Perhaps it's contagious - the inevitable legacy of spending too much time close to ministers who don't know what they are doing and have

no authority. A government whose only doctrine is to fail. Fail again. Fail better. Samuel Beckett's time has come.

The cabinet minister hopped from side to side nervously, like someone who had mistakenly imagined that only 12 double espressos could get him through his impending ordeal. He began by trying to lay out the government's position. A near impossible task when it changes by the hour. If Lino

was in any position to enforce this, then we'd now have reached the point where ministers could face show trials for thought crimes for failing to understand that she no longer believed what she had believed in the morning.

Um, er ... As far as Lidington knew, what the government currently thought was that if the Brexit deal was passed then the UK would ask for a short extension to the article 50 process. And if it wasn't then we would have to ask for a longer one. Which wouldn't be good as we might have to spend £16m on European elections. Rather less than Failing Grayling manages to waste in an average morning.

Predictably there were countless interventions, with MPs quick to observe they were being asked to forget the government had previously said it would never ask for an extension because it would never be granted and it was only the prime minister's own incompetence that had led to this current request - which now apparently would be granted. Hilary Benn and Oliver Letwin both made the very obvious case that it was clearly time for parliament to start thinking about what it did want.

Day 993 in the Big Brexit House. The inmates had voted for something, but nobody was quite sure what. We were now well into an infinitesimally small twelfth dimension. A near airless vacuum, devoid of intelligent life. Where's an asteroid when you need one?

*She clearly hates her life almost as much as she hates many of her colleagues. Hating is one of the few things she does well*





Cleo, Manchester

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# Cracknell to be Boat Race's oldest ever competitor at 46

**Jessica Hayden**

The double Olympic champion James Cracknell will become the oldest competitor in the history of the Boat Race next month after he was named in the Cambridge crew at the age of 46.

Cracknell, who became a household name when he won his first gold medal alongside Steve Redgrave and Matthew Pinsent at the 2000 Sydney Olympics, will compete alongside rowers up to 25 years his junior in the annual clash with Oxford on 7 April.

After being announced in the Cambridge line-up, Cracknell, who is studying for a masters in human evolution and has six world titles as well as his Olympic medals, described his selection as "arguably my proudest achievement in rowing", coming 13 years since he retired.

"I've had to get back to being able to move in a rowing boat," Cracknell told

the BBC. "I am seven years older than one of the guy's dads. I stopped rowing in 2004 and haven't rowed since."

Prior to Cracknell, the oldest person to compete in the Boat Race was the coxswain Andy Probert, who was 38 in 1992. The oldest to row was Mike Whearley, who was 36 when he was selected by Oxford in 2008.

The Olympic veteran's journey is all the more remarkable because of his continuing recovery from a brain injury suffered in 2010. Cracknell was hit by a petrol tanker while cycling in the US, leaving him in hospital for three months and needing to learn how to walk and talk again.

Having been part of the crew to defend the Olympic coxless fours title in Athens in 2004, Cracknell embarked upon a series of endurance challenges, including rowing the Atlantic and trekking to the South Pole with his friend, the TV presenter Ben Fogle.

On hearing of Cracknell's selection yesterday, Fogle tweeted: "Heroes



◀ Cambridge's team is unveiled in London, left to right: Dara Alizadeh, Grant Bitler, James Cracknell and Dave Bell

PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN WALTON/PA

*'Heroes don't all wear capes ... Sometimes they wear really tight Lycra and dodgy boots'*

**Ben Fogle**  
Friend and TV presenter

don't all wear capes ... sometimes they wear really tight Lycra and dodgy boots" - a response to images of Cracknell and his Cambridge teammates in their kits at City Hall, London.

Redgrave also tweeted his congratulations to Cracknell: "We knew he could do it! Congratulations to @jamescracknell, watch this space for next year, I do like a broken record!"

The Oxford and Cambridge squads have been training since September. Cracknell said: "It's impossible to

appreciate what getting selected for the Boat Race is actually like. Training so intensively and competing with a group of guys for the same seats in a boat whilst studying hard at a top university, you could easily fall apart."

Despite having trekked through the Arabian desert, and raced to the South Pole, this may be Cracknell's biggest challenge yet, but he is determined to succeed. "I and the other lads aren't there for the kit and being selected, it's about delivering on 7 April."

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# Art review Modernity seems far away with this trip into sun-dappled, archaic Spain

## Sorolla: Spanish Master of Light

National Gallery, London

★★★★☆

Jonathan Jones

Luis Buñuel called the first chapter of his autobiography "Growing up in the Middle Ages" because he remembered Spain at the start of the 20th century as a country barely touched by the modern world, and dominated by the Catholic church and near feudal poverty. If you want an eyeful of that archaic Spain stand in front of Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida's almost three-metre-wide 1899 canvas *Sad Inheritance*.

If you squint and look only at the turquoise sea rippling into light blue waves it's a vivid seascape reminiscent of Manet. The scene on Sorolla's beach, however, is a far cry from the parasols of impressionism.

A black-robed monk towers over naked disabled boys as they head into the sea for a therapeutic swim. They are the victims of hereditary syphilis, implies the title. Sorolla, an artist of immense style, juxtaposes blue sea, pale bodies and the raven-like priest to truly unsettling effect.

*Sad Inheritance* won a prize at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900 and helped make Sorolla the global face of Spanish art. Few as yet knew anything about a teenager called Pablo Picasso, who went to Paris that same year to see the exposition.

Today Sorolla is doubly archaic. Not only do his paintings capture the claustrophobia of traditional Spain before surrealism, anarchism and civil war shook its pieties, but his flamboyant academic style, touched by French innovations in painting wedded to much older ideals of figurative art, is pre-modern. Why would anyone now spend time at a retrospective of such an oddity?

The National Gallery does not seem to think that question needs answering and perhaps it doesn't. Instead, this show takes you on a



journey up Sorolla's quirky garden path into a luscious, sun-kissed and ambiguously sensual place.

Sorolla cannot raise his pastoral moments to the symbolic grandeur of *Water Lilies*, by his contemporary Monet. He's not a thinker. This makes him the slave of sight. Led by his eyes he seems unconscious of what he's doing.

This has frankly embarrassing results. In 1909 he painted *Boys on the Beach*, three nudes in sunlit water. The National Gallery catalogue notes, without irony, how he explores "the texture of their wet skins". Painted shortly before Thomas Mann wrote *Death in Venice*, this and other beach scenes have a *Death in Valencia* quality.

It's an odd place to be – a confused and perhaps self-deceiving Spanish middle-class psyche at the dawn of modernity. But one of the joys of art is to take us where we never thought of going. Sorolla's painted reality is heartfelt. He's at his best when he teeters towards sunstruck madness. Elsewhere he can be a crashing bore.

The tensions of Spanish identity would soon produce the surrealist visions of Picasso, Dalí and Buñuel. Sorolla lacks their courage, their depth. But if he's no surrealist, he is at times utterly surreal. That's something to take away.

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▼ *Surreal but not a surrealist.*  
Joaquín Sorolla's 1905 work *Clotilde and Elena on the Rocks, Jávea*

PHOTOGRAPH: ESTHER KOPLOWITZ COLLECTION



North of England correspondent

However, on Tuesday the school was cleared of any wrongdoing by

Moffat is the author of *Challenging Homophobia in Primary Schools* and is shortlisted for a world's best teacher award, the Varkey Foundation Global Teacher prize. He resigned from another primary school - Chilwell Croft academy, also in Birmingham - after a similar dispute with parents.

# Galaxy \$10+

Representative example	Duration of agreement	Upfront cost	Monthly Device Payment	Total Credit Amount	Total amount payable for device	Interest Rate (Fixed)	Representative APR	Device Cash Price	Airtime Plan, today to March 2019	Airtime Plan, April 2019 to March 2020	Airtime Plan, April 2020 to March 2021
Samsung Galaxy S10+	36 months	£30	£24.70	£889	£919	0%	0%	£919	£24	£24 + RPI announced in Feb 2019 = Price A	Price A + RPI announced in Feb 2020



## National Bloody Sunday

▼ Bishop Edward Daly, waving a bloodied handkerchief, clears a path for dying teenager Jackie Duddy

PHOTOGRAPH: PACEMAKER



### Soldier F The prosecutors' decision

A central issue behind the decision to bring charges against Lance Corporal F - and not other members of the Parachute Regiment - was that evidence presented to the 1998 Bloody Sunday inquiry cannot be relied upon for a criminal trial. Also, the standard of proof for conviction in a court - beyond reasonable doubt - is different from the inferences the inquiry could make.

Northern Ireland's public prosecution service (PPS) said: "In relation to Soldier F it has been concluded that there is a reasonable prospect of conviction and Soldier F is to be prosecuted for the murders of James Wray and William McKinney [as well as] the attempted murders of Joseph Friel, Michael Quinn, Joe Mahon and Patrick O'Donnell."

Four soldiers were reported in connection with those casualties: soldiers F, H, G and E. G and E have since died. "In relation to Soldier H ...there was no evidence capable of proving that he fired ... (when the casualties were sustained) other than his own inadmissible accounts". Referring to shootings in area where Jackie Duddy died, the prosecutors said: "A fundamental difficulty in relation to this sector was in attributing responsibility for the various casualties to particular soldiers." Owen Bowcott

# Families react with dignity after high hopes are devastated

Owen Bowcott

For the families of Bloody Sunday's victims, who have campaigned for justice for decades, the announcement that only one Parachute Regiment soldier would be prosecuted represented an anticlimax.

Expectations that at least four former soldiers would face charges had been widespread. Relatives had marched together to Derry's Guildhall, bearing photographs of their loved ones - civil rights demonstrators who were shot dead on 30 January 1972.

A banner bearing the words "Towards Justice" was shared as they processed through the streets where 47 years ago soldiers opened fire. Along the way, they halted to sing the civil rights anthem We Shall Overcome.

Shortly before 10am, they all filed into the City hotel, overlooking the river Foyle, where the Public

Prosecution Service briefed the families about its decision.

"People were totally devastated," said John Kelly, whose brother Michael was shot dead. "But at least six families have something to look forward to."

Soldier F has been charged with two murders and four attempted murders.

Having heard the news they walked across to the Guildhall. Their joint statement reflected contradictory emotions. It declared: "Justice for one family is justice for all of us. We stand in full solidarity with those of us whose loved-one's death or injury has not been included in the announcement of prosecutions.

"We have also faced the disappointing news that in some cases there will not be prosecutions, and we are mindful of those families who received that news today."

The statement added: "Bloody Sunday was not just a wanton act carried out by a trained army against defenceless civil rights activists. It also created a deep legacy of hurt and injustice and



▲ A British soldier apprehends a protester during Bloody Sunday when 13 men were shot dead in Derry

PHOTOGRAPH: THOMPSON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



▲ Families of Bloody Sunday victims gather at Guildhall in Derry following the PPS decision to prosecute a single Parachute Regiment soldier

PHOTOGRAPH: ALAN LEWIS/PHOTOPRESS

deepened and prolonged a bloody conflict unimaginable even in those dark winter days of 1972.

"The passage of time has made charges difficult in this case, and in other cases. But the passage of time should not be used as a form of blanket immunity to block proper investigations. Everyone deserves justice, including those whose loved ones were murdered by the British state."

The families dealt with the disappointment with dignity. At the end of the news conference, there was a minute's silence at the Guildhall in memory of the dead, followed by a round of applause.

Afterwards Jean Hegarty, whose younger brother Kevin McElhinney was killed, said she was disappointed there had not been more charges but was not surprised. "There were a few families who were really upset," she said. "It depended on expectation levels. It was very mixed emotions.

"If there's a trial of Soldier F, I will go along - even if it's in London. Maybe it will be a jury trial? We have come a long way but we are still a divided community. It would be nigh on impossible to get a jury that everyone here considered fair. If it's held in England, I don't think it would be fair."

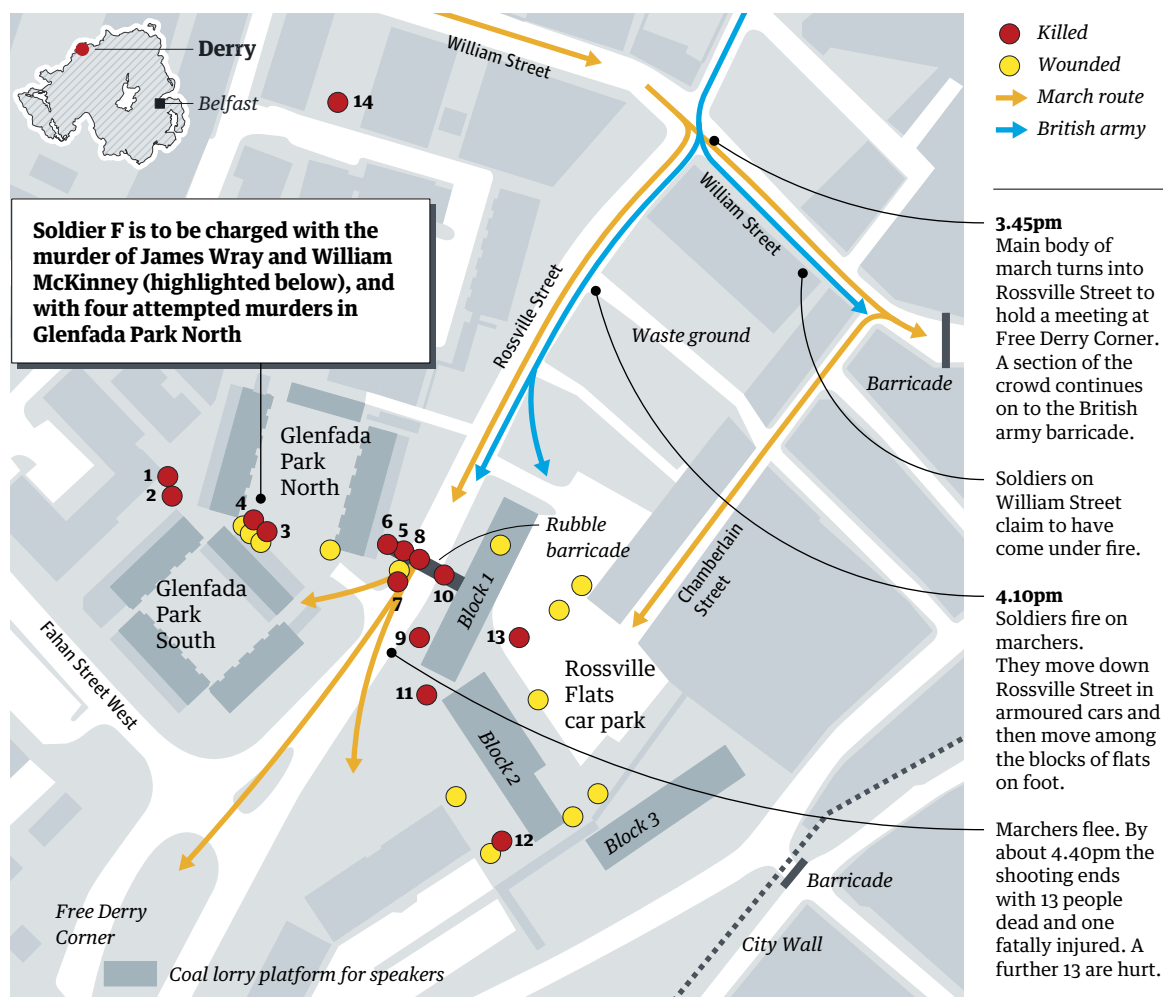
Julieann Campbell, whose uncle Jackie Duddy was killed in 1972, agreed. "People feel a bit gutted, a bit underwhelmed," she explained. "But the fact that six families came out with good news, that's a success."

Others at the nearby Museum of Free Derry stressed the importance of finally resolving the bitter events.

"Without Bloody Sunday and the Ballymurphy army shootings of 1971 [in which 11 civilians died]," said one man, "the war would not have gone on for 40 years."



## Fourteen people died as a result of the shootings on Bloody Sunday



**1 Gerald Donaghy, 17**  
Donaghy, who had been a member of the IRA's youth wing, was shot once. A man tried to take him to hospital but was told to leave the car at a checkpoint. He was driven by a soldier to a battalion post, where an army medic pronounced him dead.



**2 Gerard McKinney, 35**  
The father of eight was shot dead in Glenfada Park. He had been part of the group caught trying to get to safety towards Westland Street. Two witnesses stated McKinney raised his arms in surrender and shouted: 'Don't shoot! Don't shoot!'



**3 William McKinney, 27**  
A printer at the Derry Journal newspaper, McKinney was shot dead after he left the safety of cover to try to assist Gerard McKinney (not a relation), who had been shot moments before. He was hit from behind as he bent over.



**4 James Wray, 22**  
Wray, who had been working in England and was engaged, was shot twice in Glenfada Park. The first bullet travelled superficially from right to left across his body, the second entered his back and travelled from right to left.



**5 William Nash, 19**  
Nash, a dock worker, was killed by a single shot to his chest near the rubble barricade at almost the same time as John Young. He was possibly shot by Soldier P. Witness accounts state that Nash was unarmed and was going to someone's aid.



**6 Michael McDaid, 20**  
McDaid, a barman, was shot in the face at the rubble barricade. He probably died immediately. A book, Eyewitness Bloody Sunday: The Truth, included a photograph of McDaid moments before he was shot, showing him walking away from the soldiers.



**7 Michael Kelly, 17**  
The sewing machine mechanic died from a single shot to his abdomen, probably fired by Soldier F. He died within a few minutes of being shot near the rubble barricade in front of Rossville Flats.



**8 John Young, 17**  
Young, who worked in a menswear shop, was killed by a single shot to the head at the rubble barricade as he tried to take cover. He was shot as he tried to crawl forward to a boy who had been hit. Two witnesses said Young was unarmed.



**9 Kevin McElhinney, 17**  
McElhinney, a supermarket worker, was hit from behind as he tried to crawl to safety in the Rossville Flats. He was shot close to the flats' front entrance, near to the rubble barricade, and was dragged inside by people sheltering there.



**10 Hugh Gilmour, 17**  
Gilmour, a trainee tyre fitter, was shot by a single bullet as he ran from soldiers near the rubble barricade in Rossville Street. A photograph taken seconds afterwards shows he was unarmed.



**11 Bernard 'Barney' McGuigan, 41**  
McGuigan, a factory worker and father of six, was going to the aid of Patrick Doherty and was signalling with a white handkerchief when he was killed by a bullet in the back of his head. He died where he fell.



**12 Patrick 'Paddy' Doherty, 31**  
Doherty, a father of six, was shot from behind by a single bullet while trying to crawl to safety near the flats' forecourt, between the building and Joseph Place. Photographs show he had not been armed.



**13 John 'Jackie' Duddy, 17**  
A keen boxer, Duddy was probably the first to be shot dead that day. He was killed by a single bullet to the chest in the courtyard of Rossville Flats. Witnesses said he was unarmed and running away from soldiers.



**14 John Johnston, 59**  
Johnston, a draper, was shot in the leg and shoulder on William Street while on his way to visit a friend in Glenfada Park. His death four-and-a-half months later was attributed to the injuries he received.

# 30 January 1972

## The day a peaceful protest turned into a bloodbath

Ben Quinn

In an atmosphere of heightened tension - but also hope - thousands of men, women and children took to the streets of Derry on 30 January 1972. Having gathered to protest peacefully about internment, a new law allowing indefinite detention without trial, the march began shortly after 3pm in the Creggan area and made its way by a circuitous route through the city's nationalist districts.

The march had been organised by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association - formed originally as a broad coalition of trade unionists, socialists, nationalists, republicans and others - but was taking place against the backdrop of clashes between the security forces and Irish republicans in which firearms had been used by both sides.

While their intended destination was the Guildhall, the marchers were instead directed by the British army towards the landmark of Free Derry Corner. Troops had arrived in force just over two years earlier following violent clashes between civilians and police in 1969. By 1972 however, the nationalist community had largely turned against the troops, regarding them as being agents of the same oppressive regime as the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).

On the morning of what would become known as Bloody Sunday, troops from the Parachute Regiment were manning barricades. They were later ordered to move forward to make arrests after skirmishes broke out with young men who had detached from the main protest.

Rubber bullets, teargas and water cannon were used at about 4pm as stones were thrown, before troops made their way down William Street with orders to arrest as many as possible. Soon soldiers opened fire around the corner on Rossville Street. In all, according to army evidence, some 21 soldiers fired 108 live rounds on a day in which 13 people were killed and 15 wounded. One further death was subsequently attributed to the shootings.

The first casualty of gunfire after soldiers had gone into the nationalist Bogside area of the city in an attempt to make arrests was John Duddy, 17, who was shot and mortally wounded on the western side of the Rossville flats car park. A photograph of a priest and others carrying the dying teenager - also known as Jackie, and one of six 17-year-olds who died - would become one of the best-known images of the Northern Ireland Troubles.

The oldest victim was Bernard McGuigan, 41, a father of six children. McGuigan, who been waving a white handkerchief in his hand, died instantly after he was



▲ British paratroopers take away protesters on Bloody Sunday

shot in the head as he went to the aid of Patrick Doherty, 31, who was mortally wounded when he was shot from behind while attempting to crawl to safety.

The shootings finally ended at around 4.40pm. The British army claimed that it came under fire in the Rossville flats areas of the city.

Witnesses insist none of the dead were armed, although Lord Saville, who chaired the Bloody Sunday inquiry, found that Gerald Donaghy, a member of the IRA's youth wing, was "probably" carrying nail bombs. The inquiry was also "sure" he was not preparing to throw a bomb when he was shot. His family insisted that the four bombs were planted by the security forces.

It would take two investigations - including one by Lord Widgery that largely cleared the soldiers and authorities of blame - before David Cameron made a formal apology on behalf of the UK government for what had happened on the day.

## Sentencing Doubt over two-year limit

The trial of Soldier F for murder and attempted murder on Bloody Sunday in 1972 will test the limits of Northern Ireland's criminal justice system and legal arrangements made in accordance with the Good Friday agreement.

The Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act 1998 says anyone subsequently convicted of a scheduled, normally a terrorist, offence committed before April that year, would only serve a maximum of two years in prison.

The assumption has been that the terms of that limited amnesty in sentencing should also apply to members of the security forces.

More problematic is that the reductions only apply to crimes committed after 1973 when the first Emergency Provisions Act was passed. The government has indicated it intends to extend the two-year limit to security force members and include, for everyone, the early years of the Troubles, probably from 1966 or 1968.

However, no legislation implementing those changes has yet been presented at Westminster or in the Northern Ireland assembly, which is currently suspended. **Owen Bowcott**



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# TfL to remove ads claiming Jackson accusers were lying

**Ben Beaumont-Thomas**

Transport for London (TfL) is to remove advertising that claims Michael Jackson was innocent of charges of sexual abuse against children.

Adverts reading: "Facts don't lie."

People do" appeared on buses and bus stops after the documentary *Leaving Neverland* was shown on Channel 4. The film features testimony from two men, Wade Robson and James Safechuck, who allege Jackson abused them from the ages of seven and 10.

The posters had been funded by a crowdfunding campaign that raised

£20,000, with campaigners arguing: "We would not think twice in turning our backs on his legacy if we for one second felt that there was any truth at all in these heinous events."

Speaking to the BBC, TfL said the posters would be removed. It said they "have been rejected due to the public sensitivity and concern".

The Survivors Trust, a charity for survivors of sexual abuse, had criticised TfL for allowing the posters to be displayed, saying the advertising "perpetuated fear" that victims would not be believed. It added: "The decision to



▲ A crowdfunding campaign paid for the posters to appear on London buses

prioritise advertising revenue over the option of remaining neutral on such an emotive topic is disappointing."

After weathering numerous allegations of child sexual abuse before his death in 2009, Jackson's legacy as one of the greatest pop stars of all time has been badly damaged in the wake of the documentary, despite his estate, relatives and hardcore fans making vociferous denials of any wrongdoing. Radio stations have removed his songs from playlists, and a new biographical musical, *Don't Stop 'Til You Get Enough*, has been postponed.

# Pay rises for highest earners outstrip workforce

**Richard Partington  
Phillip Inman**

Recent big pay rises for people already earning at least £1m a year could be the result of a return to pre-banking crisis levels of reward for bankers and top company bosses, according to the head of the UK's leading economic thinktank.

New data collected by HMRC and released alongside the chancellor's spring statement showed pay for the highest-income workers rose nearly 6% between April and September last year, compared with 3.7% for the rest of the workforce. The Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) said the pay disparity would exacerbate inequality.

Paul Johnson, director of the IFS, said the full reasons for fast-rising top pay were unclear, but suggested that top salary growth could be returning to levels last seen before 2008. "Chief executive pay, and pay in the financial sector, maybe that's returning to where they were pre-crisis," he said.

There are 31,000 people in the top 0.1% income bracket. This group accounted for 8% of all PAYE income tax and national insurance receipts in 2017-18, according to documents prepared by the Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR), the government's independent economic forecaster.

OBR data shows just over £286bn was paid in PAYE and National Insurance contributions in 2017/18 - so £22.6bn came from just 31,000 people, the equivalent of £730,000 each.

According to figures released by the European Banking Authority this

week, more than 3,500 UK bankers are paid more than €1m (£850,000) a year, with total income of almost €10bn between them. Average pay was €2m.

The IFS said pay growth had risen rapidly for lowest-income workers, after hikes to the minimum wage. However, average pay - after inflation - for the workforce at large remained below the level of 2007.

Johnson said the Bank of England had looked back through history to see if there was a worse period for workers' pay, adding: "It's reached the early 1800s, I think it might be heading to the Black Death soon."

The stark analysis came a day after Philip Hammond used the spring statement to tell MPs that ratifying the prime minister's Brexit plan could unlock a "deal dividend".

The IFS warned that crashing out of the EU without a deal would erase the £26.6bn in spending headroom the chancellor said he had built up for handling a chaotic exit or ending austerity.

The IFS also attacked his claim that the funds represented a "dividend".

"It's not really a deal dividend, it's if things go as planned," Johnson said.

The spring statement forecasts from the OBR had been "predicated on a fairly smooth transition, they're certainly not predicated on crashing out without a deal", he added.

The IFS said the chancellor, if he is going to raise spending, would need to ignore a Tory manifesto pledge to balance the books by the mid 2020s.

However, the IFS said the deficit - the annual shortfall between spending and tax income - could probably not be removed by the mid-2020s.

The IFS said several measures were still in place which suggested austerity was continuing, including the freeze on benefits, which has cost 10 million families an average of £420 a year.

Matthew Whittaker of the Resolution Foundation, an independent thinktank, said it was clear Hammond has the spending power to end austerity. By 2022-23 he has the headroom to allocate £24.9bn to unprotected Whitehall departments, thus raising their share of GDP back to levels seen in 2015-16. He could also afford to spend £10.7bn on reversing welfare cuts.

The Resolution Foundation said a rise in inequality in 2018 will get worse in 2019 without a change of course, as the benefit freeze in April and increases in council tax of at least 4% were only slightly offset by a rise in the work allowance on universal credit and a freeze on fuel duty.

An increase in the personal allowance to £12,500 will also benefit the richest taxpayers. The policies, it said, "boost 2019-20 incomes by an average of £280 for households in the top fifth of the income distribution but reduce them by £100 those in bottom fifth".

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## 6%

Average pay rise for the highest-income workers between April and September 2018, according to IFS

## 3.7%

Average pay rise for those not in the highest income bracket - most of the workforce - in April-September 2018

While stocks last. Non-prescription glasses. Red Nose Day is an initiative of Comic Relief, which is the trading name of Charity Projects, a registered charity in England and Wales (326568) and Scotland (SC039730). ©2019 Specsavers. All rights reserved.



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**Bradford's heritage**  
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## News Ethiopian Airlines crash

# Boeing's Max fleet to stay grounded as flight recorders arrive in France

**Dominic Rushe**  
 New York

Boeing's 737 Max 8 and 9 planes will remain grounded indefinitely, US politicians said yesterday, as flight data and cockpit voice recorders from the crashed Ethiopian Airlines plane arrived in France.

After a briefing with the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), congressman Rick Larsen said the planes, which have been involved in two fatal crashes in the last five months, would be banned from flying "at least through April" while new software is installed and investigations continue.

Investigators will begin analysing flight recorders from the Ethiopian Airlines plane wreckage today in an attempt to establish what caused the crash that has grounded Boeing's 737 Max fleet worldwide.

In a photograph of the data recorder released by France's bureau of civil aviation safety (BEA), the central part of the recorder appears intact, although the edge appears somewhat mangled. A BEA spokesman said it was unclear whether the data was retrievable.

There is mounting anger in Ethiopia over the handling of the crash. In Addis Ababa, about 200 family members of victims left a briefing with Ethiopian Airlines officials saying the carrier had not given them adequate information.

Officials said they had opened a call-in centre that is open 18 hours a day to respond to questions, but relatives said they were not getting the answers they needed.

Relatives arrived at the crash scene in Hejere, about 30 miles from Addis Ababa, some waiting or beating their chests as a bulldozer navigated piles of debris. Blue plastic sheeting covered the wreckage of the plane.

The crash on Sunday, in which 157 people were killed minutes after take-off from Addis Ababa, was the second involving Boeing's 737 Max in less than six months. A Lion Air jet crashed in Indonesia in October, also shortly after takeoff, killing all 189 people on board.

Citing newly refined satellite data and evidence from the scene of the Ethiopian Airlines crash, the FAA has suggested the possibility of a shared cause for the two crashes.

After assessing that data, "it became clear to all parties that the track of the Ethiopian flight was very close and behaved very similarly to the Lion Air flight", the FAA administrator, Daniel Elwell, told reporters.

But aviation experts cautioned that it was still too early to draw conclusions. "To my mind people are drawing optical conclusions at the moment," said Robert Mann, an aviation consultant and former airline executive.

"We need to wait for the hard data from these readers."

One central question is whether software known as MCAS used to prevent stalling was central to the accident. Lion Air officials said sensors on their crashed plane produced erroneous information on its last four flights, triggering an automatic nose-down command the pilots were unable to overcome on its final flight.

The chief executive of Ethiopian Airlines, Tewolde GebreMariam, said its pilots had received special training on how to deal with that problem.

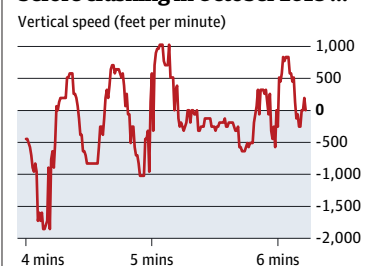
"In addition to the basic trainings given for 737 aircraft types, an additional training was given for the Max version," Tewolde said. "After the Lion Air crash, questions were raised, so Boeing sent further instructions that it said pilots should know."

The two crashes have shaken the aviation industry, scared passengers worldwide and put significant pressure on the world's biggest aircraft manufacturer.

A software fix for the 737 Max that Boeing has been working on since the Lion Air crash would take months to complete, the FAA said on Wednesday. A spokesman confirmed yesterday the FAA would not unground the airplanes until the software patch was approved and installed.

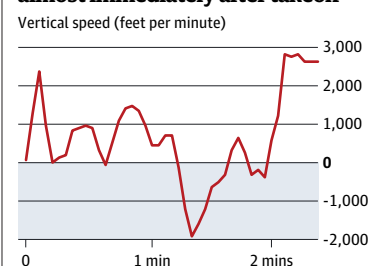
Under international rules, Ethiopia is leading the investigation, but the BEA will analyse the black boxes as an adviser.

### Lion Air flight JT610 climbed erratically shortly after takeoff before crashing in October 2018 ...



Source: FlightRadar24

### ... while Ethiopian Airlines flight ET302 also displayed this pattern almost immediately after takeoff



Source: FlightRadar24





▲ Ethiopian relatives of crash victims mourn and grieve at the scene where the Boeing 737 Max 8 crashed shortly after takeoff on Sunday, killing all

157 people onboard. The French air accident investigation authority is to handle the analysis of the black boxes

PHOTOGRAPH: MULUGETA AYENE/AP

## The Boeing 737 Max Doubts over fastest-selling plane in history

Why did it take four days for Boeing and the FAA to ground the 737 Max when other air regulators did so much sooner? American and Canadian regulators cited new evidence to suggest a link between Sunday's Ethiopian Airlines crash and October's Lion Air one. Investigations are ongoing but preliminary satellite tracking data suggests they were caused by a faulty automated system designed to prevent stalling, known as MCAS.

Marc Garneau, Canada's transport minister, said the new data revealed "vertical variations" in the two flights were similar.

**How do the two crashes compare?** Both planes were the same model of Boeing 737: a new iteration, the Max 8, that first flew in 2017 and had only been in service a matter of months for Lion Air and Ethiopian Airlines; and both pilots reported difficulties immediately after takeoff.

The Lion Air plane showed sharp changes of altitude, which suggested the pilots may have been effectively trying to wrestle against in-flight control systems designed to prevent a stall.



▲ The Ethiopian jet's flight recorders are handed to French air investigators

**How important is the 737 Max to Boeing?** It is the fastest-selling plane in history: with more than 5,000 orders placed, and more than 350 in service. At its listed price (\$121m, or £91m, per plane), that amounts to more than \$600bn worth of planes sold already and being manufactured, though most airlines will have bought at a substantial discount.

Boeing's 737 was already the most common plane in the sky, a short-haul workhorse. The latest iteration promised significantly greater fuel efficiency, more seats on a similar-sized plane, and a longer range - a promise that had seen airlines all over the world clamour to buy them. **Matthew Weaver and Gwyn Topham**

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# Amazon drops books that offer risky 'cures' for autism

Alison Flood

Books that promise cures for autism through potentially dangerous therapies have been quietly removed from Amazon over the past week.

The move followed an exposé in Wired magazine this week that highlighted how Amazon was selling dozens of books that claimed to cure the lifelong condition with everything from camel milk to yoga and veganism.

Healing the Symptoms Known As

Autism by Kerri Rivera, which advocates dosing autistic children with a bleach-like substance, chlorine dioxide, was no longer available yesterday. The Autism Research Institute said the so-called "miracle mineral solution" had "side effects known to be seriously damaging". The Miracle Mineral Supplement of the 21st Century by Jim Humble, the man behind the "miracle mineral solution", is also no longer for sale on Amazon.

Another book named in Wired, Fight Autism and Win, has been dropped by Amazon. It advocates

chelation, which involves using a dose of chemicals to remove heavy metals from the body. It is not an approved treatment for autism and can be dangerous: in 2005, a five-year-old boy died after chelation treatment.

Larry Cook, the founder of Stop Mandatory Vaccination, highlighted the books' removal in a Facebook post, claiming "Amazon censorship has begun" and urged readers to "stock up on books and DVDs right now".

Amazon has been contacted for comment. It confirmed to NBC News that it had withdrawn the books, but

would not say whether it was part of a larger effort to clean up the site.

Social media companies have been accused of amplifying the anti-vaccine movement. Last week Facebook banned adverts that included misinformation about vaccines, while Cook's videos were demonetised by YouTube in February, meaning he can not earn money from adjacent ads.

The moves follow last week's revelation in the Guardian that Amazon appeared to be helping anti-vaccine groups in the US through its charity arm, the AmazonSmile Foundation.

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# Scientists' jaw-dropping finding: how soft food helped us voice F-words

Ian Sample

Science editor

It was the texts of the 16th century that first brought the F-word to the attention of the masses. It appeared in William Dunbar's poem A Brash of Wowing in 1503 and later, thanks to an angry monk, in a note scrawled in the margin of a 1528 copy of De Officiis, Cicero's moral manifesto.

But according to researchers, the English language might never have enjoyed a richness of F-words had it not been for early farmers and the food processing they favoured. Dairy products and other soft foods, such as gruel, porridge, soup and stews, helped shape our faces, the researchers claim, and allowed us to form the sounds "f" and "v", known as labiodental fricatives.

The international team reached this conclusion while testing a theory put forward by the late American linguist Charles Hockett. In 1985, Hockett proposed that the overwhelming absence of sounds like "f" and "v" in languages spoken by hunter-gatherers was partly down to their diet.

The argument went that chewing tough foods subjected the mouth to strong forces that wore down the teeth and caused the lower jaw to grow larger, leading the lower teeth to align with those in the upper jaw. Without the usual overbite, it is hard to press the bottom lip against the upper teeth to make "f" and "v" sounds.

Hockett's theory was rejected at the time but, as the researchers gathered evidence for their study, they came to suspect he was right. Computer models of the jaw showed that with a normal human overbite, it takes 29% less energy to form labiodental

consonants than when the upper and lower teeth are aligned.

When the researchers went on to look at "f" and "v" sounds in languages around the world, they found that hunter-gatherer languages had only about a quarter of the number found in languages spoken by farming societies. Further analysis found that labiodental consonants could have spread rapidly in languages since the dawn of agriculture, to the point that they are now found in half of the 7,000 or so languages still spoken.

"We find that labiodentals couldn't have emerged much before about 4,000 years ago," said Damián Blasi at the University of Zurich. "That's really recent in terms of anatomically modern humans." The arrival of the new labiodentals may have driven a fresh diversification of language across Europe and Asia.

The researchers, writing in the journal Science, describe how early modern humans would typically have lost the overbite they were born with after growing up on a diet of hard-to-chew food. But farming, milling and cooking in pottery vessels led to softer foods, and so the overbite remained and new sounds became possible.

Retaining an overbite had not led directly to labiodental consonants, but had allowed people to make the sounds more easily, Blasi said. As softer foods continue to spread, ever more languages are expected to adopt the sounds, the scientists believe.

Blasi believes the finding should force a rethink of the factors that could drive the evolution of language. He said: "We're taught about language in the context of the humanities, and that is completely separated from the biological underpinnings of language. But all of our speech apparatus is made up of bones and muscles, which are affected by mechanical forces. They change when you change your diet."

While the F-word did not appear in English dictionaries until the 18th century, it cropped up in court records as early as the 13th century. The Englishman John le Fucker was put away for a double murder in 1278, while Roger Fuckebythenavele became an outlaw when he failed to show at a Cheshire court in 1310. The origins of the nicknames are unclear, but there is a chance the men had different reputations for sexual competence.

**'Our speech apparatus is affected by mechanical forces. They change when you change your diet'**

Damián Blasi

University of Zurich



# Steel faces Lib Dem inquiry over Cyril Smith admission

Rajeev Syal

David Steel was last night facing suspension from the Liberal Democrats after admitting he was aware that Cyril Smith was a child sex abuser but failed to assess whether he was a risk to children.

Party officials were discussing whether the peer and former leader of the Liberal party should have the whip withdrawn and face a formal investigation.

It follows his testimony to the independent inquiry into child sexual abuse that in 1979, the late MP for Rochdale confirmed reports that he had assaulted children.

Rather than launch an investigation into Smith, Steel said he allowed

him to continue in office and waved through a recommendation for a knighthood.

Smith stepped down as an MP in 1992 and died in 2010. He faced claims that he abused young boys from the 1960s to the 1980s. Steel, 80, has been a central figure in centre-party politics since the 1970s.

A meeting of senior Scottish Liberal Democrats will discuss whether to suspend his membership, said a spokesman.

“Following his remarks at the inquiry, the party has begun an investigation into Lord Steel.”

Jo Swinson, MP for East Dunbartonshire, wrote on Twitter: “Clearly this is incredibly serious and he should be suspended while this takes place.”

Under questioning at the abuse inquiry, Steel said he confronted Smith about allegations in Private Eye magazine. “He said, rather to my surprise, ‘It is correct’ that he had been in charge of or had some supervisory role in a children’s hostel, that he’d been investigated by the police, and that they had taken no further action, and that was the end of the story,” the peer said.

Steel said he did not question Smith further but concluded the allegations were true.

The inquiry counsel, Brian Altman QC, asked: “So you understood that he’d actually committed these offences, from what he said to you?” Steel responded: “I assumed that.”



◀ Peter Lawrence holding a photograph of his daughter Claudia at his home in York. The university chef was last seen near her home in 2009, when she was 35

PHOTOGRAPH: DANNY LAWSON/PA

## After 10 years, father of missing chef doubts his daughter is alive

Press Association

The father of the missing university chef Claudia Lawrence has said it is getting more difficult to believe she is alive after nearly 10 years since her disappearance.

Peter Lawrence said the decade since his daughter was last seen near her home in York on 18 March 2009 had

been “horrible”. Police believe that she has been murdered, although no body has ever been discovered.

Mr Lawrence has said in the past that he believed his daughter, who was 35 when she vanished, was still alive.

But, speaking to the Press Association from his home in York, he said he was now less certain.

“It’s getting more difficult to believe that she is alive as time goes on,” he said. “It just keeps going on and on.”

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# Struggling councils criticise £10m Citizen Service revamp

**Peter Walker**

Political correspondent

David Cameron's flagship youth scheme, which has faced criticism for using large amounts of funding to reach relatively few teenagers, is to receive a rebrand costing up to £10m.

The request for a "brand and creative agency partner" to revamp the National Citizen Service prompted condemnation from the Local Government Association, which represents 370 councils in England and Wales. It said the money could be spent countering the recent spate of knife crime among young people.

The NCS was one of Cameron's early announcements as prime minister in 2010, part of his "big society" policy. It offers three- to four-week programmes in which 15- to 17-year-olds work in teams on projects connected to skills and the community.

Last year parliamentary questions to the then culture minister, Tracey Crouch, found that in the four years from 2014-15, the NCS used up 95% of all central government spending on youth services, or £634m of the £668m outlay. Other figures showed just 12% of eligible young people, 93,000 in one

year, took part in the NCS. In some areas the take-up was as low as 4%.

NCS is seeking a creative agency to "help us deliver a razor-sharp brand proposition, a brand identity that is fit for purpose in the digital age and a creative platform that can not only cut through the clutter but live and

breathe through every single touch-point in our customer journey", said the advert. The contract would run for two years and be worth £4m to £10m.

The maximum outlay would be more than a £9.8m government fund announced last month to help community projects steer young people away from gang culture and knives.

The LGA says the money would be better channelled into council-run youth services, which have seen a 52% funding cut since 2010, with more than 600 youth centres closed between 2012 and 2016.

## 95%

The amount of government funding for youth services swallowed up by David Cameron's project in 2014-15

## Sport Paul Scholes quits Oldham 'Regret' as dream job turns sour

Page 49 →



**Help people in the world's poorest places See the Way to a brighter future - give before 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019 and every £1 you donate to our See the Way appeal will be doubled by the UK government.**

Dear Guardian reader,

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God bless you,

Rebecca

Rebecca Molyneux  
CBM Programme Manager

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# Schools giving food parcels and clothes to poorest families

**Richard Adams**

*Education editor*

Schools have become “an unofficial fourth emergency service” for vulnerable families across England and Wales, offering food parcels, clothing and laundry facilities to those worst affected by austerity, according to a new report by a headteachers’ union.

Most of the 400 school leaders surveyed by the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL) said they were seeing a “rising tide” of poverty among pupils, at a time when they were having to cut their own budgets and receiving less support from local councils.

Sarah Bone, the head of Headlands school, a comprehensive in Bridlington, east Yorkshire, said: “We have far too many children with no heating in the home, no food in the cupboards, washing themselves with cold water, walking to school with holes in their shoes, and trousers that are ill-fitted and worn out, and living on one hot meal a day provided at school.”

Other heads reported pupils with no winter coats, while others said they “regularly” had to buy shoes for their pupils.

“A decade of austerity has wreaked havoc with the social fabric of the nation and schools have been left to pick up the pieces while coping with real-term funding cuts,” said Geoff Barton, the ASCL’s general secretary.

“They have become an unofficial fourth emergency service for poor and vulnerable children, providing food and clothing and filling in the gaps

left by cutbacks to local services. Politicians must end their fixation with Brexit and work together to build a new sense of social mission in our country. We simply must do better for struggling families and invest properly in our schools, colleges and other vital public services.”

Nearly all the headteachers who responded to the ASCL survey said schools struggled to access mental health services for pupils needing specialist care, which they attributed to cuts and increased demand.

Nine out of 10 heads said they gave clothes to their most disadvantaged pupils, and nearly half said they washed clothes for pupils. More than 40% reported operating a food bank at the school or giving food parcels to pupils and their families.

One school leader commented: “In 24 years of education I have not seen the extent of poverty like this, children are coming to school hungry, dirty and without the basics to set them up for life. The gap between those that have and those that do not is rising and is stark.”

Edward Conway, the headteacher of St Michael’s Catholic high school in Watford, said: “Pupil poverty has increased significantly over the past eight years, with us providing food, clothing, equipment and securing funds from charitable organisations to provide essential items such as beds and fridges.”

The report comes as the ASCL meets for its annual conference in Birmingham, with Damian Hinds, the education secretary, addressing headteachers today.

Hinds will unveil a new strand in his efforts to make teaching more attractive, with a new expert panel to advise on teacher well-being headed by Paul Farmer, chief executive of the mental health charity Mind.

“Like any really important job, teaching comes with its own challenges and, whilst rewarding, I don’t need to tell you how stressful it can be,” Hinds will tell the audience of about 1,000 school leaders.

Lancashire, had pretended that she was having radiotherapy to get three months’ sick pay from Yorkshire Cancer Research in Harrogate, where she worked as an events manager.

While off work, Robertshaw used fake degree certificates to apply for other jobs, the same documents she had used to get her job at the charity. The court heard how the papers helped her get a £10,250-a-year pay rise, which she was paid for seven months. She earned £86,833 at the charity from September 2015 to November 2017. The judge, Andrew Stubbs QC, told her she had claimed “without any apparent sense of shame, that you had cancer while working for a cancer charity.”

Catherine Silvertson, defending, said her client had a history of mental health difficulties.

## Worker jailed for four years after defrauding cancer charity of £85,000

**Press Association**

A woman who pretended to have cancer to help her defraud the cancer charity she worked for out of more than £85,000 was jailed for four years and five months yesterday.

Patricia Robertshaw, 42, pleaded guilty to four counts of fraud and one of forgery. York crown court heard that Robertshaw, of Barrowford,



PHOTOGRAPH: YUI MOK/AFP/GETTY

**It's an honour** Twiggy, a star of British fashion in the 1960s, at Buckingham Palace yesterday to accept the title of Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire, awarded for her contribution to fashion, the arts and charity. Twiggy, whose offstage name is Lesley Lawson, not only had a career in fashion but also in film and singing. With her at yesterday's investiture, were, from left, daughter Carly, husband Leigh and son Jason.

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## In brief

## Courts

## Teenager in court over Jodie Chesney murder

A teenager has appeared in court in east London accused of murdering 17-year-old Jodie Chesney.

Svenson Ong-a-kwie appeared at Barkingside magistrates court yesterday charged with one count of murder. The 18-year-old, from Romford, is the third person to be charged with her murder.

He was remanded in custody to



appear at the Old Bailey on Monday, the court said.

Jodie was fatally stabbed in a park in Harold Hill, east London, on 1 March as she listened to music with a group of friends. A man and a boy have also been charged with her murder.

Manuel Petrovic, 20, of Romford, and a 16-year-old who cannot be named are due to face trial at the Old Bailey in September. Another three people who were arrested on suspicion of assisting an offender have all been released. PA

## Health

## Third death at hospital after fungus infection

A woman who became critically ill after contracting the fungal infection mucor in hospital has died.

Mito Kaur, 63, was admitted to Glasgow's Queen Elizabeth University hospital on 7 January and became seriously ill shortly afterwards.

Her family said she had died about 2am yesterday. Their solicitor, Aamer Anwar, said they were devastated and that many questions remained unanswered.

Kaur's death comes after a 10-year-old boy who was being treated at the hospital died there as a result of contracting the unrelated cryptococcus fungus which is linked to pigeon droppings.

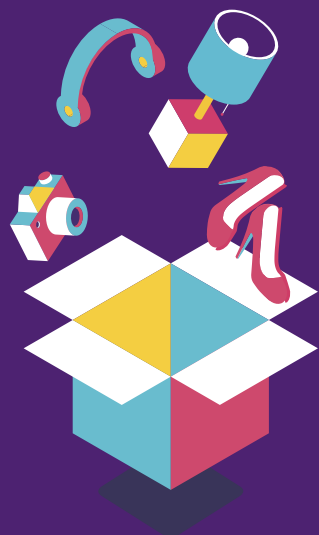
The £842m hospital opened in 2015. The Crown Office previously said it was looking into the death of a 73-year-old woman from cryptococcus at the hospital in January. PA

## Memorabilia

## Penny that deflected WWI bullet up for sale

A penny thought to have deflected a bullet during the first world war, thus saving a soldier's life, is to be sold at auction. Pte John Trickett, of the Northamptonshire regiment, would have been shot in the heart if the bullet had not struck the coin in his breast pocket, the seller said.

The dented penny, below, to be sold next week by Hansons auctioneers in Derbyshire, is in a collection of war-related ephemera that belonged to Trickett, which includes his medals. PA



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## Notification under section 107(6) of the Communications Act 2003

Proposal to give a direction applying the electronic communications code

## Proposal in this Notification

1. Ofcom hereby proposes, in accordance with section 107(6) of the Act, to give directions under section 106(3) of the Act applying the Code to the Applicant: **Full Fibre Limited**.

2. Ofcom, the UK's communications regulator, can grant powers to certain companies to allow them to deploy communications networks more easily.

This happens under a piece of legislation called the 'Electronic Communications Code'. Companies with these powers are able to:

- construct and maintain infrastructure on public land (streets) without the need for a specific works licence.
- carry out this work without applying for planning permission;
- apply to a Court for permission to carry out work on private land if agreement cannot be reached with the landowner.

3. Ofcom is currently proposing to grant these powers to **Full Fibre Limited**. The powers would allow Full Fibre Limited to deploy its communications network throughout the United Kingdom. Ofcom is currently consulting on this proposal.

You can read the full consultation document at:

<https://www.ofcom.org.uk/consultations-and-statements>

4. In making this proposal, Ofcom has had regard, in particular, to each of the matters set out in section 107(4) of the Act. Furthermore, Ofcom has considered and acted in accordance with its general duties in section 3 of the Act and the six Community requirements in section 4 of the Act.

## Making representations

5. Representations on this proposal may be made to: ECC Team, Riverside House, Ofcom, 1st floor, 2a Southwark Bridge Road, London SE1 9HA, by no later than 5pm on **15 April 2019**.

If you have any queries about Ofcom's consultation or how to respond to it, you can contact Ofcom's ECC Team via e-mail (ECCCodepowers@ofcom.org.uk) or phone (020 7981 3000).

Signed

**Brian Potterill**  
Competition Policy Director

A person duly authorised in accordance with paragraph 18 of the Schedule to the Office of Communications Act 2002

15 March 2019



# Council cash speeds up Edinburgh tram project

**Severin Carrell**  
Scotland editor

Edinburgh's urban tram line is to be finally completed, nearly a decade after its half-built track first opened to customers.

The city's council agreed yesterday to spend up to £207m on extending the line to its original destination in Newhaven, on the Forth, finally linking the east end of the city by tram to Edinburgh airport.

It is hoped the newly completed line will take its first passengers early in 2023, nearly 10 years after the first section opened, in 2014. The legislation authorising the line was passed by the Scottish parliament in 2006 but the project has been dogged by political battles and rows with contractors.

Many of the city's residents remember the disruption, delays and cost overruns that hampered the tram project from its start, with the costs for the



▲ A tram on Princes Street, Edinburgh. The extension scheme is scheduled to be ready in 2023, a decade after the first track opened PHOTOGRAPH: DANNY LAWSON/PA

first phase soaring to more than £1bn. The botched project, now being investigated in a judge-led public inquiry, led to the tram line being built in two phases with its first phase ending in the city centre, 2.8 miles short of its original terminus in Newhaven. The complete finished length of the line will be just under 12 miles.

The council insists it has learnt lessons from the debacle and has cut the contract for the new extension in two; one consortium will ensure utility

## £207m

Potential amount Edinburgh council has agreed to spend on extending the urban tram line to Newhaven

## 16m

Number of passengers expected to use Edinburgh city's tram line in the first year of its operation

pipes on the route are properly identified and if necessary moved; the second will lay the track and signals.

The decision to authorise the line's completion was opposed by the Conservatives, who insisted the council needed to wait until the inquiry into the first phase, under the former lord advocate Andrew Hardie, had published its report.

Members of Edinburgh's community councils are also worried, and want the construction to be carefully phased and buses given priority on nearby roads to minimise disruption, which they fear could affect 75,000 residents and 1,500 businesses.

The council has set aside £2.4m to help affected businesses. It said the costs of the extension would be met by borrowing, to be repaid by extra tram fares, as well as by a £20m injection from Lothian Buses, the city's publicly owned transport company.

Its projections suggest the tram will carry 16 million passengers in the first year of operation; the current line carried 7.4 million last year. Mindful of the original cost overruns, it estimates the extension will cost £165m but has added a £42m contingency fund.

Harald Tobermann, spokesman for the Community Councils Together on Trams umbrella group, said tough controls on parking along the route were needed, essential to "prevent the tram corridor from turning into Edinburgh's largest park and ride area".

## Pi is calculated to a record 31tn places using Google Cloud

**Press Association**

A Google employee has broken the world record for the most accurate value of pi, calculating it to more than 31 trillion digits.

Emma Haruka Iwao smashed the previous record of 22tn, using 25 Google Cloud virtual machines. Coming up with the figure – putting the number of digits at 31,415,926,535,897 – used about 170 terabytes of data and took 121 days to complete.

"The biggest challenge with pi is that it requires a lot of storage and memory to calculate," Iwao said.

"I'm really happy to be one of the few women in computer science holding the record, and I hope I can show more people who want to work in the industry what's possible."

Pi is the ratio of a circle's circumference to its diameter. It begins with 3.14 and continues infinitely.

"We use pi for everything in our daily life, designing buildings, building bridges, highways – pi is one of the most important constants in mathematics and science," Iwao said.



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# Eyewitness





▼ **New York City**

*Vessel, a 46-metre-high sculpture with 155 flights of stairs, one of the attractions in Hudson Yards*

PHOTOGRAPH: DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

# Sanitised or revived? Manhattan gets opulent new district

**Erin Durkin**

*New York*

A glittering new development in New York, billed as the largest private real estate project in the history of the United States, will be officially opened on Manhattan's west side today.

It overlooks the Hudson River, west of the heart of midtown Manhattan and at the northern end of the hugely popular High Line park. Some hail it as the city's next great neighbourhood, while others criticise it as a sanitised playground and work campus for the rich.

"This is one of the great transformations of New York City," said Mitchell Moss, an urban planning professor at New York University.

"They took an area of the city that had been run down, that had been a place people avoided, and they turned it into a live, active part of the city."

While today marks the official opening for the \$25bn (£18.8bn) project, some of the 15 buildings designated for the 11.3 hectare (28-acre) site are already open, while some are years off.

When complete, it will include homes and offices, a hotel, a school, the highest outdoor observation deck in the western hemisphere, a performing arts centre and a shopping centre that also opens today.

Apartments in the towers start at \$4.3m, and go up to \$32m for a duplex penthouse. Two-bedroom apartments are around \$9,000 a month to rent.

From today the public will be able to view the plazas surrounding Vessel, a 46m (150ft) high, 3,200-tonne climbable sculpture made up of interlocking flights of stairs that has been created by the British designer Thomas Heatherwick.

Even the trees at Hudson Yards are air conditioned, with a climate control system installed to "ensure that the plants and trees at Hudson Yards will be the most pampered in New York City".

All the opulence has drawn its share of criticism as a mega-project pandering to the rich and tourists with tax-payer dollars, while ignoring the real lives of the majority of New Yorkers.

"I can't help feeling like an alien here, as though I've crossed from real New York, with all its jangling mess, into a movie studio's back-lot version," wrote the architecture critic Justin Davidson in New York magazine. "Everything is too clean, too flat, too art-directed."

Nevertheless, the distaste in some circles never became the sort of opposition that greeted some New York mega-projects, such as the now scuttled plan for a new Amazon headquarters. In a mostly undeveloped area, there were few home and business owners to fight the wrecking ball.








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# Hillsborough trial jury told: police commander not unfairly singled out

**David Conn**

The former South Yorkshire police match commander at the 1989 FA Cup semi-final at Hillsborough, Sheffield, at which 96 people were killed, has not been "unfairly singled out" for the charge of manslaughter, the jury at his prosecution has been told.

Richard Matthews QC, making

the prosecution's closing speech in the ninth week of the trial at Preston crown court, said bad design of Sheffield Wednesday's Hillsborough ground, poor planning, and mistakes made by others may have contributed to the disaster at the match between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest.

However, he said, David Duckenfield was ultimately in charge of the safety of 54,000 people, having been appointed to chief superintendent 19

days previously. "Others may have failed, others may have made mistakes. No one else was the match commander ... He was the person with ultimate responsibility on the day.

"We suggest it is not unfair to prosecute David Duckenfield, and certainly it is not unfair to ask you to look at the evidence and, where you are sure, to hold him accountable for his actions and failures. What is unfair is that thousands of fans attended that football match; 96 didn't come home."

Matthews explained that the basis of the prosecution's case is that Duckenfield's failure to prepare adequately for the semi-final, his admitted ignorance of the "geography" of the Leppings Lane end, where 23 turnstiles were allocated for 24,000 people with tickets to support Liverpool, and his failures to protect them from an "obvious and serious risk of overcrowding

**'Do not be influenced by sympathy. Look at the hard evidence'**

**Richard Matthews QC**  
Prosecuting

and crushing" amounted to gross negligence.

The trial judge, Sir Peter Openshaw, directed the jury on Wednesday that for negligence to be gross, it must be considered so "bad, reprehensible and blameworthy" as to be criminal.

Matthews told the jury of six men and six women: "It's not about sympathy for the 96 people who lost their lives. We're not going to ask you to weigh up their tragedy and all the many people affected by their tragedy.

Equally, it's not about sympathy for David Duckenfield, who did not set out to kill or cause the deaths.

"He is not charged with doing anything on purpose to kill people. He is charged with failing in his duty in an extraordinarily bad way.

"Do not be influenced by sympathy. Look at the hard evidence in this case."

The prosecution alleges that Duckenfield took command on the day without adequate knowledge of the ground's "hazards and dangers and problem areas". He did not realise that people coming through the turnstiles were faced with a tunnel opposite that drew them into the central "pens".

The case, he said, is not based on hindsight, but on what should have been foreseeable to a "reasonably competent" match commander.

Benjamin Myers QC, defending, is expected to speak today and Monday.



▲ Young women could let their hair down with friends, away from the watchful eye of their parents

PHOTOGRAPHS: TIM SMITH

## Bradford's heritage

### How bhangra DJs put city's Asian youth on the map

**Ammar Kalia**

South Asian immigrants in Bradford in the 1950s and 1960s had little to connect them culturally to their homeland. Asian jukeboxes and Bollywood movies provided a link, but it was not until the late 1980s that they



found a voice through Wednesday afternoon club events.

These "daytimers" brought together young British Asians to listen to homegrown bhangra records from the likes of Bally Sagoo and Apache Indian, away from the watchful eye of their parents. The word-of-mouth events took over some of the biggest venues in Bradford, such as the 3,000-capacity Maestro's, and spawned a generation

of Asian DJs. The story of this musical community forms part of an exhibition, Above Noise, at the National Science and Media Museum in Bradford until 19 June.

"I used to wear a turban when I was 16 and going to the daytimers,

▲ The word-of-mouth daytimer events took place in some of Bradford's biggest music venues, and attracted thousands of people

and I used to be very self-conscious of my identity, but by hearing my heritage reflected in the music it felt special," said Hardeep Sahota, also known as DJ Deepsta. "I'd see other Sikhs with turbans and Muslim friends. We were all joined together in this space and we all wanted each other not to tell our parents."

The photographer Tim Smith's black-and-white images of the dance floors tell the daytimers' story. "This exhibition is an insider's view," he said. "We want to reflect stories back to the people who created them. It's about British Asians using their own media to create their own

cultural spaces, and to challenge stereotypical ideas about Bradford."

The exhibition's organiser, Helen Graham, said the daytimers were about self-expression. "This has always been a key part of Bradford's identity and it is showcased in different forms in the exhibition - from post-second world war Polish and Ukrainian exiles building communities to the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit, which documented these lesser-known stories. There's a really positive creative energy about this city."

The lead image for the exhibition shows Rani Kaur, aka DJ Radical Sister, in a Punjabi suit mixing vinyl. Kaur began playing the events in 1990 at the age of 21. "I was the only female DJ there," she said. "Some of the guys could get intense, but they didn't mess around with me because I didn't take any crap. I wasn't going to dress up and play a role and I guess that was something new - that's how I got my DJ name."

Kaur believes that if it wasn't for the daytimers, there would be no mainstream British Asian culture. "The scene died out in the mid-90s because we had become more accepted then, we could be more visible," she said. "We had to take some shit, like National Front protests and disapproving older generations, but we made it in the end and established ourselves."





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**Mafia killing**  
**Reputed mob boss**  
**shot dead in New York**

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**Vanishing cash**  
**Hyperinflation leaves**  
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# World

## Businessman charged with ordering the murder of Slovakian journalist

Shaun Walker

Slovakian authorities have charged a controversial businessman with ordering the murder of an investigative journalist and his fiancée last year in an attack that shocked the country and led to street protests.

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, special prosecutors said a man named Marian K had been charged with the murder of Ján Kuciak and Martina Kušnírová, who were shot dead in their home in February last year.

Protests after the killings called for an end to corruption and official impunity, which resulted in the long-serving

prime minister, Robert Fico, stepping aside. The prosecutors did not give the full name of the suspect, in accordance with Slovakian law, but the man was widely reported by Slovakian media to be Marián Kočner, a businessman who had previously threatened Kuciak.

Kočner, a 55-year-old multimillionaire, owns more than a dozen companies, and has been held since June, when he was detained on suspicion of fraud. He is in custody in the city of Banská Bystrica.

Four suspects were charged with the killing but the alleged mastermind had not been publicly identified until now.

"The reason for the murder was the journalistic work of the victim," one of the special prosecutors told reporters

in Bratislava. He said there might be further arrests in the case, and added that while the weapon had not been found, there was evidence of what kind of weapon had been used.

From the outset, police have worked on the assumption that it was a contract killing linked to Kuciak's work. A data journalist with the online portal Aktuality.sk, Kuciak was investigating alleged government corruption and mafia links with Slovakian politicians. Both he and Kušnírová were

27 at the time of the killing. "I was not surprised, because Marian Kočner was practically from the first days after the murder among a group of potential suspects," wrote Peter Bárty, editor-in-chief of Aktuality, in a column posted on its website.

Bárty said Kočner had previously threatened Kuciak, who complained in a Facebook post a few months before the killings that he had reported a threat to police but feared they were not acting on it.

Bárty said it was for the courts to prove Kočner's guilt, but that if he was indeed guilty, he should be punished harshly, having long operated outside the law.

"Kočner had influential friends in politics, the police, and the

prosecutors. They protected him." On the first anniversary of the killings last month, about 30,000 people marched in Bratislava and thousands of others gathered across the country. Although Fico stepped aside last year, he is still considered the most powerful politician in the country, and his Smer party is still in government.

To coincide with the anniversary, a group of media freedom organisations penned an open letter to Slovakian authorities demanding answers to three questions: whether the authorities knew or should have known about an imminent threat to Kuciak; whether steps were taken to protect him, and what steps would be taken to protect Slovakian journalists in future.

News of the arrests comes two days before Slovaks vote in the first round of a presidential election. The front-runner, Zuzana Čaputová, was part of the protest movement against the government and is calling for a new and more inclusive type of politics. She is up against Maroš Šefčovič, a vice president of the European commission who is running as an independent but is backed by Smer.

### 30,000

Number of people who marched in Bratislava to mark a year since the journalist and his fiancée were killed



**'I thank the police, and the churchgoers who kept up the secret'**

Daniele Montebello  
 Town mayor

months later. They were watching the criminals.

Daniele Montebello, the town's mayor, was privy to the subterfuge, and had to keep up the pretence, telling journalists that losing the painting was a hard blow for the community.

Montebello said on Wednesday night: "Rumours were circulating that someone could steal the work and so the police decided to put it in a safe place, replacing it with a copy and installing some cameras. I thank the police but also some of the churchgoers, who noticed the painting on display wasn't the original, but kept up the secret."

The painting was donated to the church by a wealthy family and was hidden during the second world war to prevent theft by German soldiers.

Brueghel was the son of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, considered one of the greatest artists of the Flemish and Dutch Renaissance. He made a living from copying his father's works. The Crucifixion is an oil painting on an oak panel.

While art thefts in Italy fell from 906 in 2011 to 449 in 2016, the country is still the biggest market for stolen art owing to the abundance of works.

Almost half of the artefacts stolen in 2016 had been kept in churches. Italian art police have drawn up guidelines on protecting churches that remain open all day, such as the installation of alarm and surveillance systems and getting volunteers to keep watch.

**Fake that fooled thieves who stole '£2.5m masterpiece'**

Angela Giuffrida  
 Rome

The heist appeared to have gone entirely according to plan, and no doubt the thieves who made off with the €3m (£2.5m) painting by the 17th-century Flemish artist Pieter Brueghel the Younger, from an Italian church, were celebrating their audacity.

But there was just one hitch. The artwork was a copy. The bona fide version of The Crucifixion, donated to Santa Maria Maddalena church in the small Ligurian town of Castelnuovo Magra more than a century ago, was safely stored away last month as part of a carefully concocted bluff.

Police were aware that thieves had set their sights on the masterpiece, stolen in 1981 but recovered a few

▲ *The Crucifixion by Pieter Brueghel the Younger. Thieves thought they had the real thing - but the picture they took was a copy*

PHOTOGRAPH: SANTA MARIA MADDALENA



▼ New York City police teams outside the Cali family home on Staten Island yesterday after the shooting

PHOTOGRAPH: BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS



# Suspected boss of US mobster family shot dead at his home

**Erin Durkin** Staten Island  
**Jamiles Lartey** and agencies

Behind the yellow crime-scene tape, Francesco “Franky Boy” Cali’s house could be clearly seen, a two-storey red brick property with a two-car garage, on a curve in the road.

The reputed head of New York’s notorious Gambino crime family had been shot dead in his home in the first targeted killing of a mob boss in the city in more than 30 years.

The 53-year-old gangster was found with multiple gunshot wounds just after 9pm on Wednesday. He was pronounced dead in hospital. By yesterday morning police had sealed off the residential block in Staten Island where the killing happened, a short ferry ride from Manhattan.

“Yesterday was crazy,” said a neighbour who was only prepared to disclose his name as Thomas. He said he had been watching television when he heard gunshots. “I heard five, six, or seven gunshots,” he said. “Nobody was expecting that, because it’s a

safe neighbourhood.” But, he added: “There’s so many mob members out here. They ain’t gonna talk to you ... They’ve been here for over 40 years, before I was even born.”

Investigators said they were still searching for the gun and a blue pickup truck that a witness claimed had run over Cali. Officers could be seen combing through bushes outside neighbouring homes. Cali’s wife and children were reportedly home at the time of the attack.

Federal prosecutors in Brooklyn had previously referred to Cali in court filings in recent years as the underboss of the Gambino organisation, related through marriage to the Inzerillo clan in the Sicilian mafia.

Press accounts since 2015 said Cali had ascended to the top spot in the gang, although he had never faced a criminal charge alleging that.

His only mob-related criminal conviction came a decade ago, when he pleaded guilty in an extortion conspiracy involving a failed attempt to build a Nascar racing track on Staten Island. He was sentenced to 16 months

in prison and released in 2009. The last crime family boss to be shot in New York City was Paul Castellano, also one of the Gambino clan. He was killed outside Sparks Steak House in Manhattan in 1985.

Cali’s neighbourhood on Staten Island, Todt Hill, is known for its mafia



▲ An Italian police handout from 2008 of Frank Cali, who has been shot dead at his home in Staten Island

history. Castellano owned a home on Benedict Road, while a home on nearby Longfellow Road served as the location for the Corleone compound in the Francis Ford Coppola film *The Godfather*.

The Gambino family was once among the most powerful criminal organisations in the US, but federal prosecutions in the 1980s and 90s sent its top leaders to prison and diminished its reach.

One of the most infamous godfathers in US mob history, John J Gotti, became head of the family after Paul Castellano, whose murder he had ordered. Gotti was convicted of racketeering and murder in 1992, and died of cancer in 2002. In 2013 his son, the former Gambino boss John A Gotti, was stabbed in the stomach in Syosset, New York, the New York Times reported. He survived.

Last October, Sylvester Zottola, a suspected associate of the Bonanno crime family, was shot and killed at the drive-through window of a McDonald’s in the Bronx. Three months earlier, Zottola’s son Salvatore was shot multiple times by a gunman at the Zottola family’s compound in the Bronx. He survived.

“We thought those days were over,” said the mayor of New York City, Bill de Blasio, yesterday of Cali’s death. “Very surprising, but I guess old habits die hard.”

minister, Jacinda Ardern, to warn that the normal easy accessibility of politicians in New Zealand should not be taken for granted.

Shaw was under observation in hospital, where he was described by the Green party spokesman as “very shaken”, a sentiment shared by the political community.

Senior Sgt Matthew Morris of New Zealand police said a 47-year-old man had been arrested over the attack.

Ardern said the incident was “an incredibly unprovoked and surprising thing to happen”.

“We have an environment in New

Zealand where politicians are accessible - and that’s something we should feel proud of. We are after all here to serve people. But today’s events really show we cannot take that for granted,” Ardern said.

“I think all of us will probably be united in wanting to ensure we have the kind of political environment where everyone can hold their views, but they can do that safely. “When you go into politics in New Zealand you just don’t expect these things to happen, and I know it will be especially challenging for loved ones,” she added.

The Green party spokesman said

## Students sue top universities over alleged bribes for entry

**Associated Press**  
San Francisco

Two college students have filed a lawsuit against the University of Southern California (USC), Yale University and other colleges where prosecutors say parents paid bribes to ensure their children’s admission.

The lawsuit was filed by Erica Olsen and Kalea Woods in a federal court in San Francisco and alleges they were denied a fair opportunity for admission to Yale and USC.

The lawsuit also named six other institutions: the University of California, Los Angeles; Wake Forest University in North Carolina; the University of San Diego; the University of Texas at Austin; Georgetown University; and Stanford University.

The alleged scheme gave unqualified students admission to highly selective universities, said the plaintiffs, both students at Stanford.

“Each of the universities took the students’ admission application fees while failing to take adequate steps to ensure that their admissions process was fair and free of fraud, bribery, cheating and dishonesty,” the plaintiffs said in the lawsuit.

Charges were announced earlier this week against 50 people, including sports coaches and dozens of parents, in a scheme where prosecutors have said wealthy parents paid to rig standardised scores and bribed sports coaches to get their children into elite universities.

The colleges named have cast themselves as victims of the scheme, and have moved to distance themselves from the coaches accused of involvement.

“We understand that the government believes that illegal activity was carried out by individuals who went to great lengths to conceal their actions from the university,” USC officials said in a statement earlier this week.

Yale officials said earlier this week that they were cooperating with the investigation.

“As the indictment makes clear, the Department of Justice believes that Yale has been the victim of a crime perpetrated by its former women’s soccer coach,” Yale spokesman Tom Conroy said.

## Man assaults New Zealand’s minister for climate change

**Eleanor Ainge Roy**  
Dunedin

New Zealand’s climate change minister has been attacked while walking to Parliament House, the first physical assault on a politician in the country in more than 10 years.

James Shaw, who is also the joint

leader of the Green party, was outside the Botanic Garden in the capital, Wellington, yesterday morning when he was assaulted.

A spokesman for the Green party said Shaw was grabbed and punched in the face in an unprovoked attack that has shocked MPs and the wider public. The attacker referred to Shaw by name.

The incident prompted the prime

the party was taking advice from parliamentary security on whether protection for their MPs needed to be increased in the wake of the attack. “There is nothing to suggest this had anything to do with the Green party or James’s work ... but this person did know who James was and did use his name,” he said.

Acts of violence against politicians are extremely rare in New Zealand, and most politicians move freely without bodyguards or security. Only the prime minister or acting prime minister is guarded around the clock by the Diplomatic Protection Service.



# Israel's last peace protesters

## 'This reality is normal to a generation'

Oliver Holmes  
Quique Kierszenbaum Jerusalem

It's a sad-looking protest. A few dozen members of Israel's beleaguered peace movement mill around on a road in East Jerusalem, holding signs in Arabic, English and Hebrew declaring: "Stop the occupation." Well-dressed older leftwingers mingle with a scruffier younger crowd. This is part of what remains of the Israeli peace camp, crippled by a political system that has lurched to the right. Four members of the left wing explain why they keep going:

### The protester

Pepe Goldman, 67, an Argentinian Jew, has protested since emigrating to Israel in 1976. "Unfortunately, we are a small minority. Israelis are very, very ..." he says, before restarting the sentence: "I would say they don't

give a shit about what is going on."

After years of failed attempts, many Israelis are asking whether peace, not to mention a Palestinian state, is necessary when Gaza is entirely blocked off, the West Bank occupation is tightly managed, and the economy is booming.

Goldman no longer protests to convince his fellow citizens. He comes because he believes he can stand as a human shield for Palestinians who face forced evictions or attacks. "We only live once. I could not forgive myself if I let all this happen."

### The former soldier

Yehuda Shaul is 37, but his beard and weatherbeaten face make him appear older. On many days, the former Israeli soldier is at the front of a bus touring the West Bank to show Israelis and foreign visitors what the occupation looks like. The organisation he founded, Breaking the Silence, is made up of veterans who want to expose the reality of Israel's grip on Palestinian life.

When the group first started after the violent second intifada, Shaul says it was "mainstream" – a critical voice, but from the respected institution of the armed forces. "We had earned the right to speak out."

But after Benjamin Netanyahu made deals with hardline religious nationalists in 2015 to form the most rightwing coalition government in the country's history, pro-settler forces grew in power and the attacks on Breaking the Silence ramped up. "When the defence minister calls you a spy, and the prime minister says you crossed a red line, and the tourism minister says you're a traitor people answer the call," he says. "Remember McCarthy? He's alive and kicking and here in Israel."

### The columnist

Amira Hass drinks a small whisky in a bar in Ramallah to fend off a



▲ Members of Israel's beleaguered peace movement: from the top, Pepe Goldman; Yehuda Shaul; Amira Hass; and Yossi Beilin

cold. She has lived in the territories since 1993, first in Gaza and now in the West Bank. She believes writers should live in the place they write about. But she cannot think of a single other Jewish Israeli journalist who lives here.

Ending 51 years of Israeli military rule is not an issue in the

forthcoming election, she says, because a new generation has come "to regard this reality as normal". There used to be an "unease" in society, "because there was still an understanding that there was a contradiction between our self-image as enlightened, progressive, liberal, democratic country, and the occupation. You had a generation who knew what life was like before [the occupation began in] 1967."

But the idea of settlers annexing huge swaths of land is rapidly becoming mainstream, she says. "They are high middle class, they are savvy, they are in the military, they are in hi-tech." There are no longer pro- or anti-peace camps in Israel, Hass adds, just "the winning camp".

### The politician

Yossi Beilin, the only one of the four to have held a position in government, is the most optimistic. Much of his three decades of political life was in the pro two-state Labor party but also in Meretz, which is anti-occupation. Both parties are now in decline. In the 1990s, he was part of secret talks in Norway that led to the Oslo accords, a framework to make a peace deal that ultimately stalled.

"There is a general feeling that there is nothing to do," he says.

The Israeli parliament has few doves left. The former Israeli foreign minister Tzipi Livni, one of the most prominent peace advocates, left politics this month after polls indicated her tiny party would not make it into parliament again. She said peace had become a "dirty word".

Beilin, now 70, denies peace is off the agenda. It is a primary part of the Israeli psyche, he argues. "Sometimes it is the elephant in the room [but] this is the real story of Israel." Asked to explain his steadfast optimism, he replies: "Because we need it badly."

# Leader of EU parliament in hot water for praising Mussolini

Angela Giuffrida Rome  
Jennifer Rankin Brussels

The president of the European parliament is under fire for playing down the crimes of Benito Mussolini after he said Italy's fascist dictator had done positive things for the country.

Antonio Tajani, a close ally of the Italian former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, told Italian radio that Mussolini had a good record on developing infrastructure. "I'm not a fascist, I have never been a fascist and I don't share [Mussolini's] political thought, but if we must be honest, he built roads, bridges, buildings," he said. "He reclaimed many parts of our Italy."

Tajani is the deputy leader of Forza Italia, the centre-right party Berlusconi founded. His comments were swiftly denounced in Rome and Brussels. "Someone who finds merits in the deadly fascist regimes of the past is unworthy to remain president of the European parliament," the co-chair of the Green group, Philippe Lamberts, tweeted. "Tajani should retract his statements or go."

Udo Bullmann, the leader of the parliament's Socialist group, said the remarks were unbelievable. "How can a president of the European parliament fail to acknowledge the nature of fascism?" he asked.

Stefano Buffagni, the Five Star Movement's undersecretary for regional affairs, said: "Tajani has shown his true colours and should be ashamed of what he said about Mussolini ... Remember that our constitution is based on other values. I'm proud to be different from them."

Beppe Sala, the mayor of Milan and a member of the centre-left Democratic party, said: "I would have expected the president of the European parliament to have exercised silence on this issue."

Berlusconi has also spoken highly of Mussolini, once saying that the dictator had never killed anyone. "Mussolini used to send people on vacation in internal exile," he said. He also said the dictator's racial laws were his worst fault, and that he "in so many other ways did well".

Tajani's views of Mussolini's positive achievements are shared by many Italians, who yearn for a strongman leader and have long helped to keep his spirit of Mussolini alive. The more recent revival of rightwing populism has also helped to dismantle the taboo.

Matteo Salvini, the interior minister and leader of the far-right League, sometimes quotes Mussolini, and League supporters have attended rallies carrying signs featuring pictures of the dictator alongside Salvini's name. Marches organised by the neo-fascist groups Forza Nuova and CasaPound have also become a regular occurrence.

Tajani responded to the furore by accusing people of manipulating his words, but later said he had not intended to cause offence.



▲ Pepe Goldman holds a placard urging 'Stop the Occupation' during a demo in Sheikh Jarrah, East Jerusalem, against evictions of Palestinians  
PHOTOGRAPH: QUIQUE KIERSZENBAUM/  
THE GUARDIAN

'Sadly, we are a small minority. But I could not forgive myself if I let all this happen'

Pepe Goldman



# French gynaecologists' threat to halt abortions 'holds women hostage'

Kim Willsher

A French gynaecologists' union has threatened to halt pregnancy terminations in an attempt to force the country's health minister to meet disgruntled doctors.

The Syngof union wrote to its 1,600 members calling on them to be prepared to stop carrying out abortions to "make ourselves heard" and force the government's hand.

Syngof, which represents about a quarter the country's gynaecologists and obstetricians, published the letter as a protest over what it claims is a lack of insurance funds for colleagues who have been convicted of medical errors.

The health minister, Agnès Buzyn, along with a number of feminist organisations, said the threat was unacceptable and amounted to "taking women hostage".

In a statement, Buzyn wrote: "In no case should taking women hostage in this way be used as a lever for negotiations or for media coverage of an issue the department is following very closely."

She added that the threat went against the "unconditional respect for the right to abortion guaranteed in our

country" and said she regretted the "distorted image" that such statements gave of French gynaecologists and obstetricians "from a union that is supposed to represent them".

The row erupted months after Syngof's president, Dr Bertrand de Rochambeau, justified his refusal to perform pregnancy terminations, declaring that abortions amounted to homicide.

In the letter sent this week and signed by his colleague Jean Marty, a former union president, gynaecologists were urged to "be ready to stop carrying out terminations to make ourselves heard".

After provoking a wave of criticism Marty told journalists he had been deliberately provocative. "That's why we did it," he said.

The French Order of Doctors, the equivalent of the General Medical Council in Britain, condemned the threat, which it declared "totally contrary to medical ethics".

The French equality minister, Marlène Schiappa, also said it was "unacceptable blackmail".

"Everywhere in the world, women's rights are threatened, sometimes by governments, sometimes by interest groups, non-governmental organisations, unions ... the mere existence of these threats is shameful," Schiappa said.

The feminist organisation Osez le Féminisme tweeted: "Syngof threatens an abortion strike. They could have had a cervical smear strike, *non*? This from the same union of [Bernard de Rochambeau] who called abortion a homicide".

The joint president of the Family Planning Association, Caroline Rebhi, said it was a "backwards step ... but not entirely a surprise".

She said Syngof had a habit of "going too far in this way".

"This new incident shows us that even if the right to abortion is written in the law, it cannot yet be taken for granted."



## 1,600

Number of gynaecologists urged to halt abortions in a move Agnès Buzyn, above, described as unacceptable

## In brief

### United States

## Johnson & Johnson's \$29m cancer payout

A California jury has awarded \$29m (£22m) to a woman who said asbestos in Johnson & Johnson's talcum-powder-based products caused her cancer. The award, in California's superior court in Oakland, marks the latest defeat for the healthcare conglomerate facing more than 13,000 talc-related lawsuits nationwide.

The company said it would appeal, citing "serious procedural and evidentiary errors" during the

trial, saying lawyers for the woman had fundamentally failed to show its baby powder contained asbestos.

"We respect the legal process and reiterate that jury verdicts are not medical, scientific or regulatory conclusions about a product," Johnson & Johnson said in a statement. The New Jersey-based company denies that its talc causes cancer, saying numerous studies and tests by regulators worldwide had shown that it is safe and asbestos-free.

The lawsuit was brought by Terry Leavitt, who said she used Johnson's Baby Powder and Shower to Shower - another powder containing talc sold in the past - in the 1960s and 1970s and was diagnosed with mesothelioma in 2017. It was the first of more than a dozen talc cases against the company scheduled for trial this year. **Reuters** San Francisco



▼ People make their way out of Baghuz in the eastern Syrian province of Deir ez-Zor yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: DELIL SOULEIMAN/AFP/GETTY

## Aid pledge of £5bn for Syria's war refugees

Patrick Wintour  
Brussels

The United Nations has been promised nearly £5.3bn to help Syrians inside the country and on its borders, as European officials consider the possibility of large numbers of refugees returning home this year.

The pledge came as Russia sent in aircraft to attack the rebel-held province of Idlib in its first significant assault for months. The bombardment of the country's last rebel-held enclave by Russian and Syrian planes was the most extensive yet.

A full-scale assault could lead to hundreds of thousands of refugees joining the 4 million who have already fled the country. As many as 3 million live in Idlib province, including many jihadist fighters.

In September, Turkey persuaded Russia to hold off from a full-scale attack on Idlib, but it appears Moscow is losing patience with Turkey's efforts to disentangle the main rebel fighting group from the rest of the population. Russia also has a history of mounting assaults at times when western leaders gather to discuss Syria.

The \$7bn commitment from foreign ministers, made at a conference in Brussels, is short of the UN's target of \$8.8bn for this year, but an improvement on pledges made last year.

In Brussels yesterday, Jordanian and Lebanese leaders warned of social upheaval in their countries if assisted returns to Syria did not speed up. It is likely 2019 will be the first year since the eight-year civil war started when the numbers of people returning are not exceeded by new refugees or those who are internally displaced.

The figures are disputed, but estimates put more than 600,000

refugees in Jordan, 1 million in Lebanon, a sixth of its population, and as many as 3 million in Turkey.

Mark Lowcock, the UN humanitarian affairs co-ordinator, said: "Some 6.2 million people inside Syria are still displaced from their homes, and 4.7 million still need help with shelter. Two million children inside Syria are out of school."

Idlib residents said Russian aircraft had conducted at least 12 airstrikes on residential areas, including a civilian prison, where they said dozens of inmates had escaped. At least 10 civilians had been killed and 45 injured.

Russia's defence ministry confirmed it had hit Idlib in coordination with Turkey, targeting drones and weapons stores of the Hayat Tahrir al-Sham jihadists that it said had been intended for use in an attack on a Russian base near the Mediterranean coast.

Johannes Hahn, the EU commissioner for neighbourhood policy and enlargement, insisted refugees needed to return under conditions of safety and dignity when they chose to do so.

Reuters contributed to this report

### United States

## World Cup teammates announce plans to wed

The US footballing teammates and World Cup winners Ali Krieger and Ashlyn Harris have announced they are engaged to be married.

Krieger, a 34-year-old defender, said the pair were previously reluctant to reveal their partnership out of fear it would be a distraction.

"We wanted to be professional and make sure that we showed up every day and did our job and it wasn't just because we were together, it was because we love what we do, and we're really good at what we do," Krieger told People magazine. "And that was most important for us."

Harris, 33, a goalkeeper, said: "We became more and more confident

within ourselves and then clearly within our relationship. We were like, now is the right time ... and I feel like it's a massive weight off of my shoulders. Finally, after all these years, I just feel like I don't have to hide anything or feel like I'm not living up to the community I'm in."

They plan to wed after the World Cup in France this summer, when the US team will try to defend the trophy it won in 2015. **Guardian sport**



▲ Ali Krieger (left) and Ashlyn Harris arrive at a Los Angeles party in 2015

### Malaysia

## Plea fails to free second accused in Kim murder

Malaysian prosecutors yesterday rejected a request from Vietnam to free a Vietnamese woman on trial for the murder of Kim Jong-nam, the half-brother of the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un.

Vietnam made the appeal after Doan Thi Huong's co-accused, the Indonesian Siti Aisyah, was released on Monday. Yesterday, the same court ruled that Doan's trial be postponed until 1 April after she was declared "mentally and physically" unfit to testify.

The women were charged after Kim Jong-nam died in 2017 when a toxic nerve agent was smeared on his face at Kuala Lumpur Airport. **Hannah Ellis-Petersen**



**World**  
**Venezuela**

# Hyperinflation

## Vanishing cash and soaring prices make bartering and dollars only way to survive

**Emma Graham-Harrison**  
**and Patricia Torres** *Cupira*  
**Joe Parkin Daniels** *Caracas*

**T**he sign on Angelica Monasterios's stall in Cupira, a town on the main road east from Caracas, simply reads: "Barter". Her niece painted the sign for her in early February, after spiralling inflation and vanishing reserves of hard cash made it hard to do business.

"We accept dollars and euros as well," she said with a grin, sitting beside rows of handmade yucca wafers, the town's speciality, balls of pure cacao farmed nearby and hand-carved toys.

Venezuela has the world's largest oil reserves, and was once one of the wealthiest countries in Latin America, but its economy has been ravaged by years of runaway inflation. The devastating blackout that struck last week has pushed it to the verge of collapse.

Venezuela officially entered hyperinflation at the end of 2016, and has now endured one of the longest runs of warp-speed price rises in the world, according to Steve Hanke, a professor of applied economics at Johns Hopkins University and one of the world's leading experts on the phenomenon.

Hanke has logged 58 historical episodes of hyperinflation around

the world, and says Venezuela's is the fourth longest, though nearer the median for the rate of price rises. That does not mean an end is in sight. The longest episode Hanke has recorded, in Nicaragua about three decades ago, lasted nearly five years.

The clichéd image of hyperinflation is of people rushing to the shops with cash in wheelbarrows. In Venezuela, however, while the value of money crashes, so does the ability to get your hands on it. Bolívar banknotes are increasingly scarce. The government's mint no longer works, so it gets banknotes from abroad, and manufacturers expect to be paid in something other than the fast-devaluing notes they produce.

There are a few things in Venezuela for which cash is indispensable, such as bus fares and supplies in very remote areas, but Venezuelans are using barter, dollars and - when the power supply allows - online transfers, debit cards and even cryptocurrencies to scrape together what they need to survive. They can sometimes go for weeks without touching banknotes.

Before the power cut, most people in urban areas relied on online transfers and debit cards to make payments, leaving anyone without a card or internet banking dangerously vulnerable.

Gindel Delgado spent two months excluded from the system because a shortage of plastic meant his bank refused to issue him with a new card. His salary was paid into his father's bank account, and the pair sat down every evening to make a list of online transfers to people he owed money to.

"I gave up until I had a week off work," Delgado said of his long quest to get a new card. He spent that week trekking from branch to branch to find someone who could finally issue him with a new card.

The devastating blackout - which still afflicts much of the country - has only accelerated Venezuela's creeping unofficial dollarisation. Many hotels and shops now only accept dollars. At a supermarket in the wealthy Chacao district, security guards turned away customers without US currency.

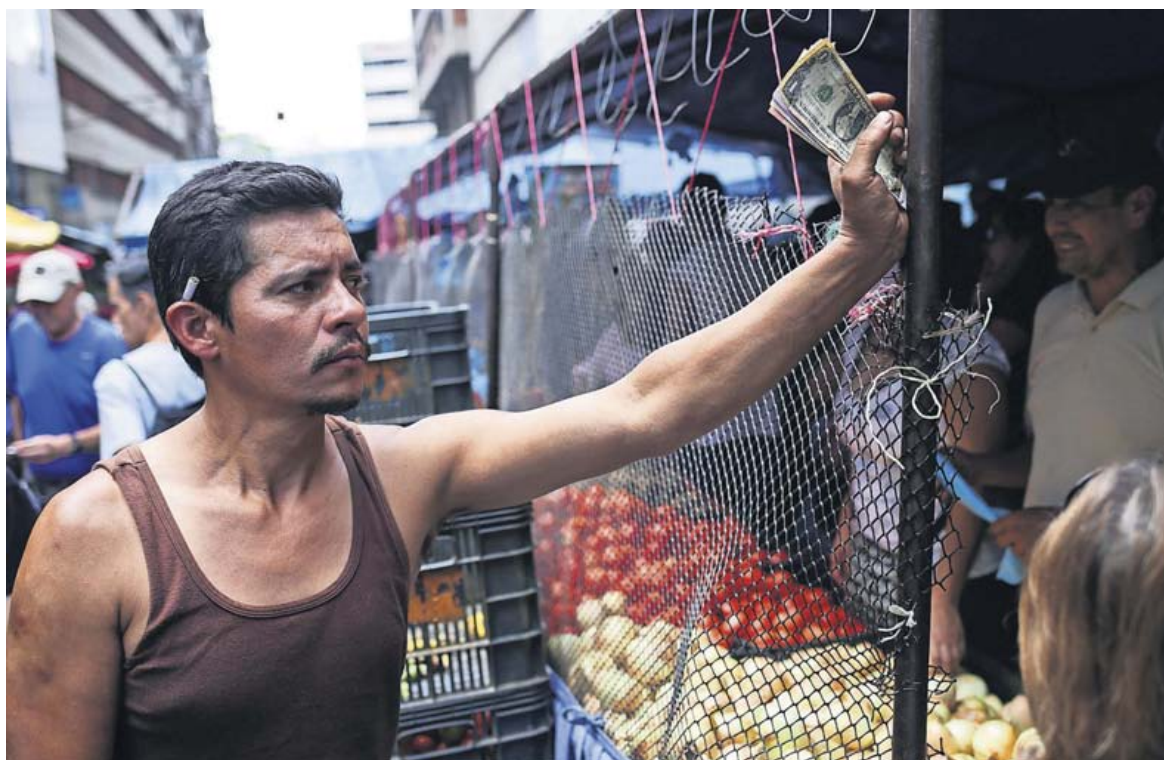
"All this government talk of American imperialism and now we have to use dollars," said Celina Bareto, whose daughter was buying vegetables with the few dollar bills she had lying around the house.

Others without dollars were not so lucky. "I have some dollars



◀ People buy food from a street vendor in the capital during a power cut - some of these stalls now even accept euros

PHOTOGRAPH: MATIAS DELACROIX/AFP/GETTY



▼ A market trader in Caracas clutches US dollars

PHOTOGRAPH: CRISTIAN HERNÁNDEZ/AFP/GETTY



▲ A market in the upscale Chacao district of Caracas

PHOTOGRAPH: MATIAS DELACROIX/AFP/GETTY

saved at home," said Trina Cedeño, a publicist looking to buy food for her husband and their toddler. "But I was saving them for emergencies, not to buy groceries."

A butcher in Caracas said he now made up to 10% of his sales in dollars, even though they were not technically legal tender. Much of that was from bulk purchases by Venezuelans abroad supporting family at home, but some was cash.

Inflation has made it hard to break even, even with dollars. "Sometimes I will buy a kilo of meat at 10,000 bolívars [£1,093 at today's exchange rate], sell it in the shop for 14,000, then go back to restock and the wholesale cost is 15,000," he said.

conventionally spend several days putting together an index of prices, but in Venezuela these are creeping up every day.

"In the normal environment it doesn't matter if they measure the prices of bread in the beginning, middle or end of the month. With hyperinflation, you'd have to measure them all simultaneously on the same day," Hanke said. "It becomes almost unfeasible to do it."

He believes the best way to measure the true level of inflation is to look at the foreign exchange rate, because that now is the basis of the economy. Even prices quoted in bolívars are based on an assessment of the black market exchange rate.

Hanke said: "The measuring rod has already been changed to the US dollar." The only way out for Venezuela, whether under the government of Nicolás Maduro or his challenger, Juan Guaidó, will be making that unofficial measuring rod official, he said.

That could either be by overt dollarisation, or pegging the bolívar securely to another country's money with hard currency reserves backing every note issued.

"There usually is some end point [to hyperinflation] because one of two things happens. You get a political change, and then you get a currency reform. Or you get the same guy in power and you get a currency reform."

"You can't keep going like that."

The scale of price increases is a problem even for economists who want to study them, because systems for measuring inflation in a normal economy stop working as costs spiral, Hanke said.

People's spending priorities shift towards food and other basic necessities as their salaries lose value, so the basket of goods used to calculate inflation, which in the UK includes everything from quiche to leggings, becomes less relevant.

Economists would also



A market trader makes bags out of bolívars

**'All this government talk of American imperialism and now we have to use dollars'**

**Celina Bareto**  
*Caracas resident*



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# Financial

## Investors raise concern at lack of women on boards

**Kalyeena Makortoff**

An influential investor group has written to more than 60 publicly listed companies with only a single female director, including Domino's Pizza and JD Sports, raising concerns over a lack of gender diversity and warning of investor anger if progress is stalled.

The Investment Association (IA), which represents 250 asset management firms with £7.7tn in assets under management, have joined up with the Hampton-Alexander Review team to criticise FTSE 350 firms with "one and done" boardrooms that have just a single female board member.

Domino's Pizza Group, JD Sports Fashion, pubs group Greene King, the owner of the Wagamama and Garfunkel's restaurant chains, and the gambling company 888 Holdings are among the 66 firms that have only one

female board member to receive letters, having been pointed out in the latest Hampton-Alexander Review in November.

A further three companies that have all-male boards - property firm Daejan Holdings, Millennium & Copthorne Hotels, and TR Property Investment Trust - have also received the letters.

Targets set by the government-commissioned Hampton-Alexander review body aim to have women making up at least 33% of FTSE 350 boards

**'One in five of the UK's biggest firms are falling far short on boardroom diversity'**

**Chris Cummings**  
Chief executive of the IA

and leadership teams by 2020. "Investors consider diversity to be a critical issue for business success," the letter explained.

Chris Cummings, the IA's chief executive, said: "Investors have been consistently clear that they want to see greater diversity in the boardroom so it is totally unacceptable that one in five of the UK's biggest companies are falling so far short. Companies must do more than take the tokenistic step of appointing just one woman to their board and consider that job done.

"There is also compelling evidence that boards with greater gender balance outperform their less diverse peers. These companies must up their game and explain clearly how they are planning to meet the Hampton-Alexander targets, or risk investor dissent at their AGM."

The IA has already pledged that Ivis, its voter information service, will give a "red top" or highest warning level

### On the list Named and shamed

In total 69 firms were contacted for lacking women in their boardrooms:

**The 66 one-woman boards included:** St James's Place; 888 Holdings; Acacia Mining; Baillie Gifford Japan Trust; Cairn Energy; Caledonia Investments; Capital & Counties Properties; Centamin; Clarkson; ContourGlobal; Domino's Pizza Group; Energean Oil & Gas; Ferrexpo; Grafton Group; Greencoat UK Wind; Greene King; HarbourVest Global Private Equity; Hilton Food Group; Hochschild Mining; JD Sports Fashion; JPMorgan American Investment Trust; Pantheon International; Personal Assets Trust; Plus500; Primary Health Properties; Rank Group; Restaurant Group; Riverstone Energy; Schroder AsiaPacific Fund; Softcat; Stobart Group; Syncona; Telecom Plus; Worldwide Healthcare Trust; Civitas Social Housing; 3i Infrastructure.

**The three men-only boards were:** Daejan Holdings; Millennium & Copthorne Hotels; TR Property Investment Trust.

to firms that fail to address a lack of female representation.

It says those issues "will also be noted against the re-election of the chair of the nominations committee" ahead of each company's annual general meeting.

Shareholder advisory firm Glass Lewis has historically taken aim at nomination committee heads and voted against their re-election if they continued to be led by all-male boards.

But its director of research for the UK and Europe, Martin Garcia Mortell, told the Guardian this month that attention will now be turned to boards with only one woman among senior ranks.

The IA and Hampton-Alexander team are now urging dozens of firms, including Acacia Mining, online gambling group 888 Holdings, and Frankie and Benny's owner Restaurant Group, to draw up a clear roadmap for how they plan to address the gender imbalance.

"We would like you to set out how you intend to make genuine progress to improving board diversity. We therefore ask you to set out what actions the board is taking to ensure that substantial progress is made to meet the Hampton-Alexander 2020 targets," the letter said.

## Govia's £5m fine for new rail timetable debacle

**Julia Kollwe**

Govia Thameslink Railway is facing a £5m fine for the chaos caused by the introduction of a new timetable last May, which led to train cancellations and delays for commuters.

An investigation by the Office of Rail and Road into the "severe disruption" identified failures on the part of Govia, which operates the Thameslink, Great Northern, Southern and Gatwick Express franchises.

The watchdog said Govia failed to communicate changes to services, cancelling trains with short notice and leaving commuters unable to plan their journeys.

Stephanie Tobyn, the deputy director for consumers at the ORR, said the disruption experienced by passengers had been "awful". "When disruption happens, poor-quality information makes an already difficult and frustrating situation worse," she said.

Govia said it was disappointed by the fine. The firm has 21 days to respond to the penalty notice from the ORR.

Patrick Verwer, the company's chief executive, said: "The severe disruption following last May's timetable introduction was due to



industry-wide factors and we are sorry for the serious effect this had on our passengers."

He added that Govia had paid out £18m in passenger compensation and was investing £15m to improve services - a move ordered by the Department for Transport.

The firm has held on to Britain's

**£18m**

*The total Govia has paid out in passenger compensation following last year's timetable disruption*

biggest rail franchise, despite calls for it to be stripped of the contract.

Andy McDonald, the shadow transport secretary, described the proposed fine as "only a slap on the wrist for Govia Thameslink," and added that the fact it still retained its contract - with the transport secretary, Chris Grayling, still in his position - showed the lack of "accountability for failure on the railway".

In the eight weeks after the timetable change, trains were permanently removed but passengers were not clearly informed until several weeks later, the watchdog said.

▲ *Passengers pack in to a congested Govia Thameslink train at London Blackfriars during the disruption*  
PHOTOGRAPH: LOUISA COOK/ALAMY

Some trains were reintroduced at short notice, leaving insufficient time to input journey information into systems; replacement buses were used on some routes but passengers did not know about them, with frontline staff left with little information because of inadequate internal communication.

The ORR has written to train companies and Network Rail asking them to review their crisis management plans.

## Shell chief's pay package doubles to £17m on back of increasing profits

**Jasper Jolly**

The pay of Shell's chief executive, Ben van Beurden, more than doubled in 2018 to €20.1m (£17.2m) as the oil firm rewarded him for increasing profits.

The pay package was the largest in Shell's history except for 2014 when complex pension calculations inflated the chief executive's reported salary.

Van Beurden's pay was three times more than the average of his fellow FTSE 100 chief executives in 2017, and 143 times greater than the average pay of Shell's British workforce.

For 2018, Van Beurden received €1.53m in base salary and benefits and an annual bonus of €3m.

However, the lion's share of the payment came from a 2016 long-term incentive plan, which paid out €15.2m.

Luke Hildyard, the director of the High Pay Centre, which campaigns on excessive executive pay, said: "These very large payouts are indicative of a flawed governance model and warped corporate culture that has made the UK one of the most unequal countries in western Europe."

Gerard Kleisterlee, chairman of Shell's remuneration committee, wrote that it had rewarded Van Beurden in part for "framing a methodology for aligning with the Paris agreement", which envisages net zero carbon emissions in the second half of the century.



## Business view

Nils Pratley



## Shell boss's well oiled £17.2m highlights arbitrary nature of 'performance' incentives

**H**ere, as sure as spring, comes another row over pay at Shell. The chief executive, Ben van Beurden, collected €20.1m (£17.2m) last year, a tidy 126% increase on 2017. The only other time he passed €20m was 2014, when he apparently needed an enormous pension top-up and "tax equalisation" handout to ease his arduous journey from London to Shell HQ in the Hague. For practical purposes, he is setting pay records for a Shell boss. No doubt he's doing a great job,

as shareholders would see things. Just in case, the remuneration chair, Gerard Kleisterlee, littered his report with references to the vast sums the company generates these days – an astonishing \$53bn of cash from operations last year. And, yes, we can agree the takeover of gas producer BG Group in 2015 turned out not to be the over-priced stinker it seemed at the time. Energy prices recovered, easing the strain on Van Beurden's acquisition arithmetic. But therein lies a factor in his bonanza: the oil price. About 80% of Van Beurden's winnings came from a three-year incentive

scheme that used shares granted at early-2016 prices, when oil cost close to \$35 a barrel. By the end of the performance period, December 2018, oil was nearer \$60. The beneficial effect on Shell's share price, and Van Beurden's share-based rewards, is obvious.

That's the madness of these incentive plans. The oil price is outside the control of the executives yet is a major influence on pay packages that are defended as "performance related." It's true Shell had to beat a few competitors on a few yardsticks but, once those hurdles were cleared, the arbitrary factor kicked in.

Some €3.2m of Van Beurden's jackpot came from a higher share price and another €3m from dividends, themselves semi-determined by oil prices. Maybe luck will swing the other way next time. But, if you hang around long enough at the top of a large oil company, you are almost guaranteed a big win at some point.

Pay committees ignore the issue. In Shell's case, they also overlook the candid admission of a former chief executive, Jeroen van der Veer, who himself walked into a few

*Hedge fund hellhounds could soon be the significant part-owners of a company supplying school meals and cleaning hospitals*

pay rows. "If I had been paid 50% more, I would not have done the job better," he said. "If I had been paid 50% less then I would not have done it worse."

Well, quite. Van Beurden's pay for 2018 equates to about £47,000 a day. If the figure had been, say, a mere £27,000 a day, one can be reasonably sure the outcome for Shell shareholders would have been exactly the same.

### Are we being served?

Is Interserve going in and out of administration today? That was the betting last night.

An administrator from EY is lined

up and Interserve's lenders stand ready to take control via a pre-pack arrangement.

Over at the Cabinet Office, feelings may be mixed. The good news is that a Carillion-style calamity should be avoided and, in theory, all 45,000 jobs in Britain should be protected. And the angry 27% shareholder Coltrane's hopes of bidding for bits of Interserve look remote, which ministers will surely cheer. Coltrane, a New York hedge fund, made about £4m by betting on Carillion's demise. It might be hard to explain to voters why it deserves to run government contracts.

On the other hand, the prospective new owners of Interserve – its lenders – aren't an entirely pretty bunch. They include an alternative crew of hedge funds, including Cerberus, named after the three-headed hound of Hades. As you might suspect, Cerberus is not noted for its commitment to cuddly inclusive capitalism.

But, yes, the hedge fund hounds could soon be significant part-owners of a company supplying school meals, cleaning hospitals and servicing the armed forces. Isn't outsourcing wonderful?

## US fund could cherrypick Interserve if rescue fails

Rob Davies

Interserve could go into administration today as the outsourcing group fights to win support for a restructuring plan before a crunch vote.

Shareholders will give their verdict at an emergency meeting on a proposal put forward by banks and hedge funds, which have offered to forgo £485m of the company's £631m debt in return for most of its equity, leaving existing investors with 5% of the shares.

The Reading-based Interserve employs 45,000 people in Britain. It is the largest provider of probation and offender rehabilitation services in England and Wales and has thousands of government contracts that range from hospital cleaning and school

meals provision to maintaining military bases in the Falklands.

The US hedge fund Coltrane, the largest shareholder, with a stake of nearly 28%, has been holding out for a better offer and may command enough support to derail the plan. The proposal needs the support of more than 50% of voting shareholders.

If the plan is derailed, Interserve is all but certain to go into a pre-pack administration. The process would wipe out shareholders altogether but allow the company to keep trading, avoiding a spectacular collapse like that of fellow outsourcer Carillion.

Interserve has run into financial difficulty after delays and cancellations to significant construction projects, as well as an unsuccessful foray into waste-to-energy projects.

If the restructuring plan is rejected,



the accounting firm EY would oversee a process under which shares in the group's parent company are delisted and operations are sold to the lenders. Interserve has said this would allow business to continue as usual, including on its government contracts.

Despite the risk that its shares would be wiped out, Coltrane has rejected

the lenders' restructuring plans. It is also understood to have turned down a tentative verbal offer that would have sweetened the deal to give shareholders 7.5% of the company.

Coltrane is understood to have indicated it would be happy to allow the company to go into administration and would seek to negotiate with EY

◀ Interserve's contracts include maintaining Falklands military bases  
PHOTOGRAPH: SGT ROB TRAVIS/RAF

to cherrypick parts of the business to buy. A source close to Coltrane said the fund "believes in outsourcing and Interserve as a company".

"Coltrane thinks the market, post-Carillion, has taken the wrong view on outsourcing as a business model so they might well be interested [in buying assets out of administration]."

Interserve has so far rejected an alternative proposal put forward by Coltrane that would also involve a debt-for-equity swap and a £110m rights issue, leaving existing shareholders with 55% of the company.

The Cabinet Office, which monitors the government's contracts with private sector suppliers, said it was receiving regular updates from Interserve. Officials at the department believe that there will be no disruption to public services even if the company goes into administration, a process they expect to be wrapped up by Saturday morning at the latest.

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## Financial Fashion



Julian Dunkerton, right, and James Holder, with whom he founded Superdry

Euan Sutherland, the chief executive of SuperGroup, which owns Superdry

# Battle for soul of Superdry

## Creators of high street brand try to wrestle back control

Zoe Wood

Superdry used to be one of the hottest fashion labels on the high street, feted by investors for its financial performance. But it is now the scene of one of the City's biggest bust-ups, as its founders fight an increasingly bitter battle for control with its current management.

When the firm's multimillionaire co-founder Julian Dunkerton stepped down a year ago, it was said to be a friendly farewell. He was, he said at the time, leaving the brand built on hoodies and T-shirts, and favoured by celebrities such as David Beckham, in safe hands in order to focus on other business interests.

But then the Superdry share price went into freefall. Sales are down, there have been profit warnings and the real reason for Dunkerton's departure emerged: an old-fashioned fallout. The new leadership team, led by Euan Sutherland, sought to move away from selling the heavily branded casual wear that made Superdry cool, whereas Dunkerton was keen to stick with his trusted formula.

It is easy to see why Dunkerton is upset. Superdry shares were worth £20.39 at the start of 2018 but are now £5.32. His personal 18% stake is down by £230m and the company's market value has dwindled so far it has fallen out of the FTSE 250 Index.

Dunkerton wants to retake control, and yesterday wrote to shareholders and used his Save Superdry website to set out his turnaround strategy. "I understand the brand," he wrote. "I created it with James Holder [the designer], and we achieved sustained and profitable organic growth over many years, and can do so again." Holder owns nearly 10% and backs Dunkerton.

### Superdry share price



Source: Thomson Reuters

In a broadside aimed at Sutherland, Dunkerton says the company now has a "misguided consultant-led business model".

Dunkerton has demanded, and got, a shareholder meeting, to be held on 2 April, to settle the issue. He also wants to install Peter Williams, chair of the online retailer Boohoo and once boss of Selfridges, as a non-executive director to work with him.

"This is about people who are out of their depth," Dunkerton told the Guardian in December. "In the top team, there is nobody with clothing or brand experience, and that's a major issue." He cites the recent move into childrenswear as a prime example of cluelessness. He argues it would destroy the "cool factor" for 16 to 24-year-olds.

His Save Superdry website has become a lightning rod for private shareholders, current staff and former employees to vent about the state of the company.

Morale has been hit by cost-cutting plans. Up to 200 out of the 1,000 staff at the Cheltenham HQ could lose their jobs as part of a plan to cut costs by £50m over the next three years.

Among the harshest critics of the current management on Save Superdry is its former head of

creative, James Meigh, who left last year. He claims Sutherland has a "supermarket" mentality that has fuelled the brand's descent into "discount hell".

"If [Dunkerton] wanted Superdry to be Next he would have done just that but he wanted a cool brand. Euan [Sutherland] will never understand creative or cool."

Ian Keely, a small shareholder, has purchased the Superdry shareholder register and plans to write to the firm's 600-plus shareholders ahead of next month's meeting. Keely is worried City investors are apathetic.

"Who wouldn't welcome back the Steve Jobs and the Steve Wozniak of the UK fashion world?," said Keely.

He wants to rally the support of the small shareholders, who together own 13% of the company. "We can make a real difference."

It seems the only people who don't think Dunkerton is a genius are in the boardroom.

They have slammed his "leadership style". His return, they say, would "damage morale", lead to "dysfunctional relationships" and prompt key people to quit.

The board said it had also received an unsolicited letter of support, signed by 31 senior executives.

A spokeswoman also hit out at those who have posted on Dunkerton's website.

"We always listen to all points of view," she said, "but many of those providing unsubstantiated comments and opinions on the Save Superdry website are friends and business associates of Mr Dunkerton and Mr Holder or former Superdry employees."

Dunkerton, however, will not give up. His own financial losses will spur him on. "Our interests are directly aligned to those of all shareholders," he said. "This is not an ego trip."

## Chief v founder The men behind the brand

**Euan Sutherland, chief executive** Sutherland is better known for the way he quit the Co-operative Group than for running Superdry.

The 50-year-old Scot angrily stormed out of the crisis-hit mutual in 2014 after details of his £3.6m pay deal was leaked to the Observer. He immediately took to the Co-op's Facebook page to rage against people trying to undermine him and quit the next day, blasting the Manchester-based group for being "ungovernable" in his resignation letter. He later received a £1m payoff.

Standing an imposing 6ft 6in, Sutherland started out as a graduate trainee at Boots but soon switched to the consumer goods giants Mars and Coca-Cola. He did stints at high street chains including Dixons, Matalan and Superdrug, working his way up to the top job at B&Q before joining the Co-op. Married to Jacqueline with four sons, he lives in a village near Guildford.

## Julian Dunkerton, co-founder and biggest shareholder

Dunkerton is Mr Superdry. A self-made multimillionaire thanks to the streetwear brand's success, he cut his teeth selling clothes from a Cheltenham market stall. His first retail chain was called Cult Clothing but things took off in 2003 when he created Superdry with designer James Holder. Known for its trademark hoodies and T-shirts emblazoned with Japanese-inspired graphics, the first Superdry store opened in 2004. It kickstarted a period of breakneck growth that led to a stock exchange float in 2010.

After three decades in the fashion industry Dunkerton's role at Superdry's Cheltenham base became less hands-on following the appointment of Sutherland as chief executive in 2014. Last March he stepped down altogether, purportedly to concentrate on his other ventures, which include a small group of upmarket pubs and hotels in the Cotswolds and the Dunkerton Cider Company. However, it later emerged there had been a row over strategy.

The 54 year-old is worshipped by former staff who praise his fashion nous and generosity. The company's recent problems have wiped more than £230m off the value of his 18.5% shareholding.



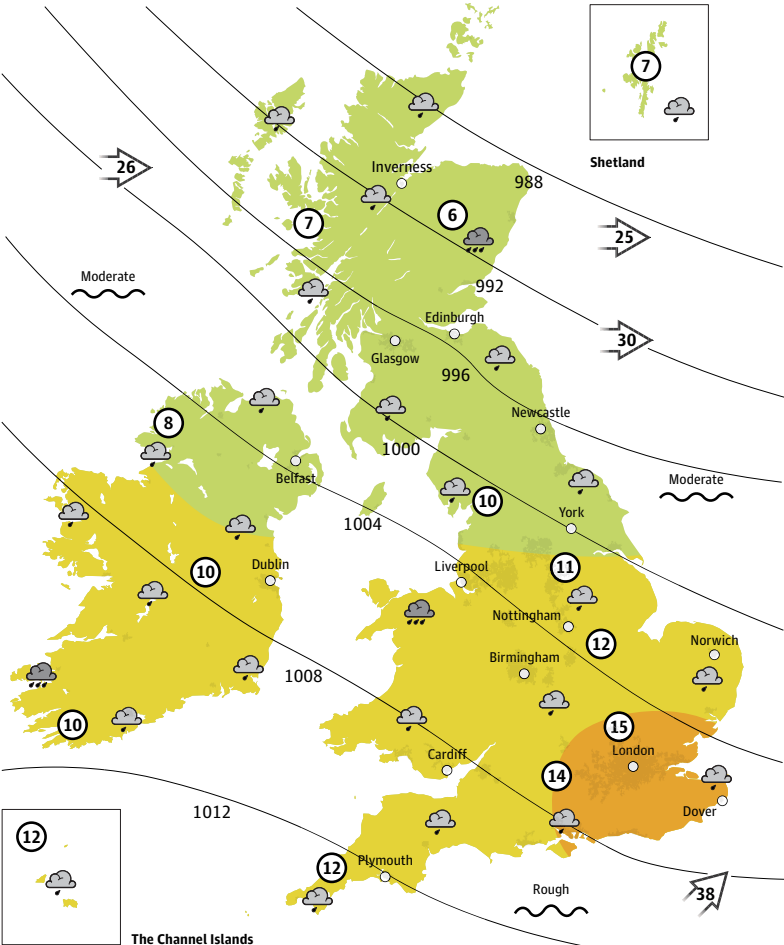
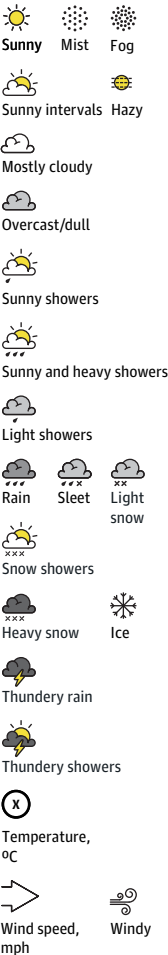
▲ Superdry urged shareholders to oppose Julian Dunkerton's return



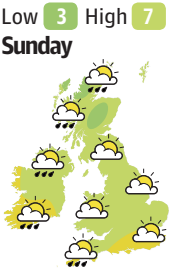
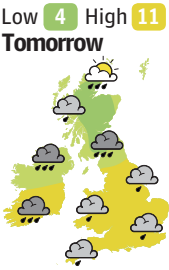
# Weather

## Friday 15 March 2019

### UK and Ireland Noon today

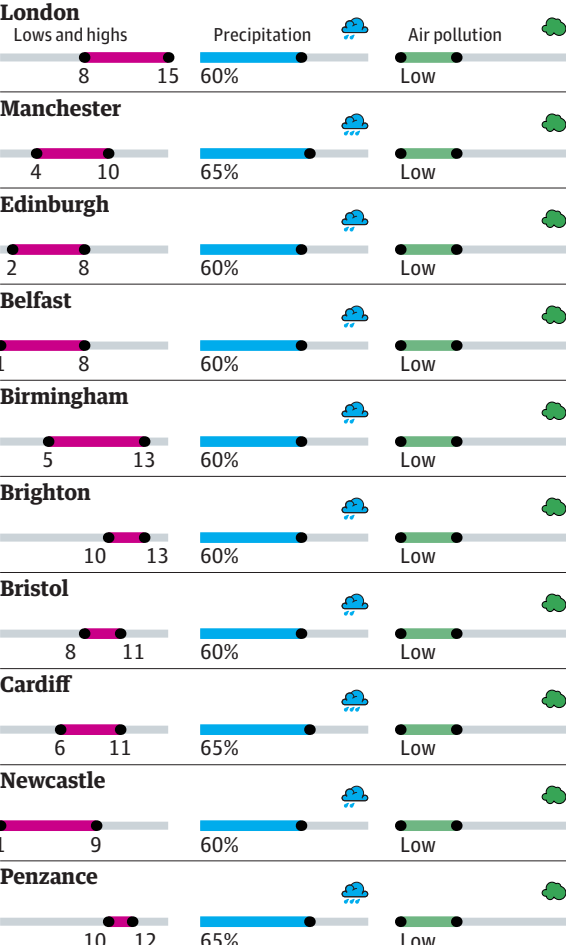


### Forecast

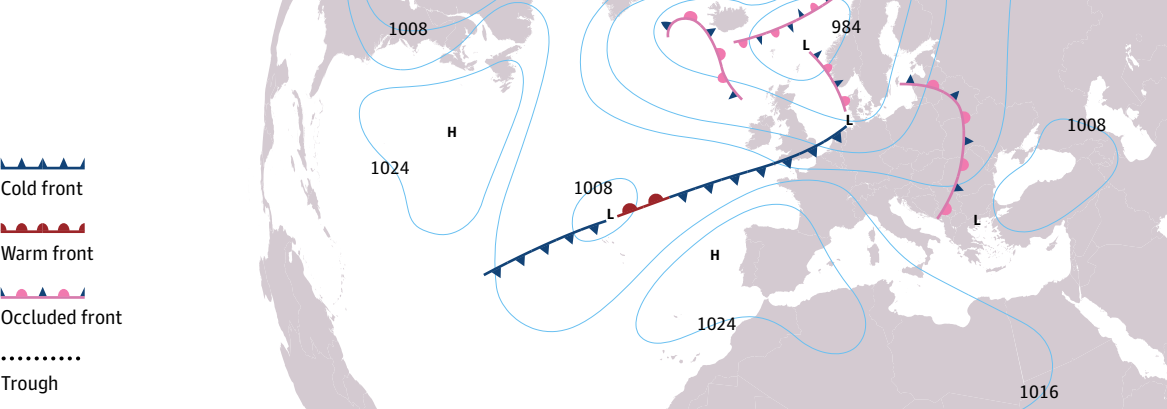


Another storm will bring rain and gusty winds on Saturday. The odd shower will linger on Sunday.

### Around the UK



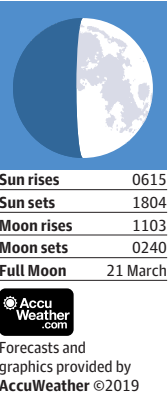
### Atlantic front



### High tides

Aberdeen	0728	3.4m	2006	3.5m
Avonmouth	0017	10.5m	1257	10.1m
Barrow	0504	7.4m	1749	7.3m
Belfast	0458	2.9m	1736	2.9m
Cobh	--	--	1127	3.3m
Cromer	--	--	1238	3.9m
Dover	0421	5.6m	1715	5.3m
Dublin	0536	3.3m	1814	3.3m
Galway	--	--	1132	4.0m
Greenock	0538	3.0m	1829	2.8m
Harwich	0514	3.4m	1801	3.2m
Holyhead	0402	4.5m	1650	4.5m
Hull	--	--	1205	5.9m
Leith	0837	4.4m	2113	4.5m
Liverpool	0438	7.5m	1725	7.5m
London Bridge	0712	6.2m	1951	5.8m
Lossiemouth	0535	3.1m	1810	3.2m
Milford Haven	--	--	1212	5.3m
Newquay	1110	5.4m	2352	5.3m
North Shields	0929	4.0m	2209	4.1m
Oban	--	--	1202	2.8m
Penzance	1033	4.3m	2318	4.3m
Plymouth	--	--	1136	4.3m
Portsmouth	0514	3.9m	1800	3.8m
Southport	0351	7.2m	1631	7.2m
Stornoway	0052	3.6m	1344	3.7m
Weymouth	--	--	1220	1.3m
Whitby	0959	4.4m	2241	4.5m
Wick	0506	2.7m	1748	2.8m
Workington	0506	6.6m	1751	6.6m

### Sun & Moon



### Lighting up

Belfast	1828 to 0638
Birm'ham	1811 to 0620
Brighton	1805 to 0613
Bristol	1815 to 0624
Carlisle	1814 to 0625
Cork	1838 to 0647
Dublin	1829 to 0638
Glasgow	1821 to 0631
Harlech	1820 to 0629
Inverness	1819 to 0630
London	1804 to 0612
M'chester	1813 to 0622
Newcastle	1810 to 0620
Norwich	1759 to 0608
Penzance	1827 to 0635

### Pollutionwatch

It has been a while since we saw images of smog-obscured Beijing landmarks in the news. A United Nations report explains this.

In four years, sulphur dioxide in the city was reduced by 70% and particle pollution by 36% by tackling the problem at source. Initially, old coal-powered industry and power stations were fitted with air pollution abatement systems before being replaced by cleaner facilities built to run on natural gas.

Cleaner road fuels, scrapping old vehicles and reducing solid fuel home heating helped too; all from an investment programme that reached 18bn yuan a year (£2bn) in 2017.

But China's efforts have not stopped there. Particle pollution in the 62 Chinese cities tracked by the World Health Organization dropped by an average of 30% between 2013 and 2016. Beijing still has a long way to go; tackling the remaining air pollution requires new, smarter policies, but the Chinese example shows what can be achieved.

In Britain, progress has been slower. Air pollution from traffic alongside some London roads worsened between 2010 and 2016. This underlines the need for stronger action such as the new ultra-low emission zone.

Gary Fuller @drgaryfuller

### Around the world

Algiers	20	Lisbon	22
Ams'dam	12	Madrid	22
Athens	14	Malaga	21
Auckland	23	Melb'rne	22
B Aires	25	Mexico C	26
Bangkok	35	Miami	28
Barcelona	16	Milan	21
Basra	23	Mombasa	32
Beijing	15	Moscow	3
Berlin	8	Mumbai	33
Bermuda	18	N Orleans	16
Brussels	12	Nairobi	28
Budapest	12	New Delhi	26
C'hagen	7	New York	17
Cairo	23	Oslo	2
Cape Town	30	Paris	13
Chicago	4	Perth	28
Corfu	17	Prague	9
Dakar	27	Reykjavik	2
Dhaka	35	Rio de J	32
Dublin	9	Rome	16
Florence	18	Shanghai	18
Gibraltar	19	Singapore	33
H Kong	20	Stockh'm	3
Harare	21	Strasb'g	13
Helsinki	3	Sydney	22
Istanbul	10	Tel Aviv	19
Jo'burg	27	Tenerife	22
K Lumpur	36	Tokyo	13
K'mandu	24	Toronto	8
Kabul	12	Vancouv'r	10
Kingston	30	Vienna	11
Kolkata	32	Warsaw	8
Lagos	23	Wash'ton	21
Lima	26	Well'ton	21
		Zurich	11



## Rugby union

## Jamie Roberts: smart Wales will wrap up the slam

Page 46 →

## Football

## Watford's Mariappa hails his vegan diet

Page 48 →



# Sport



◀ *Cristiano Ronaldo (main) and Lionel Messi showed once again this week they are the two best players in Europe*

PAUL CURRIE/BPI/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

at home to Manchester United in the group stage and at the Wanda Metropolitano against a tough, stubborn Atlético side known for their exceptional defence. Many doubted the team's ability to come back but that spirit is built into the side and they found a way from the first minute to put Atlético under waves of pressure.

Last summer the men's team moved to a new training ground at Continassa while we work at their old one, so I have not been able to see evidence of Ronaldo's legendary commitment with my own eyes, but I know his dedication has continued since he moved to Turin. He asks a lot of questions and always wants to know why he's doing what he's doing. His mentality, work ethic and the drive that have powered him towards greatness inspire all of us individually and collectively. The recipe for perfection starts with hard work.

**U**ntil this week I don't think he had delivered a truly outstanding performance for Juve in the Champions League. I went to that game against United, when he scored a wonderful volley, but his all-round play was not amazing. On Tuesday he stood out. There were other players who put in exceptional performances too: Miralem Pjanic, who often seems to go under the radar, Leonardo Spinazzola, who got up and down the left and put some good crosses in, and Federico Bernardeschi, who created Ronaldo's first goal and won the decisive penalty.

The buildup to the penalty demonstrated the determination and drive of the team. For Bernardeschi to have that energy at that point, to have the awareness and ability to cut inside, get into the box and force a desperate defender into a rash shove, was the stuff of champions. A week ago I don't think many people would have fancied Juventus as potential winners of the Champions League but after that performance and with Ronaldo in great form they will certainly be feared.

I think the men can go on to win it. The tournament is pretty open, with Real Madrid already out, but with the best player in the world in the Juventus side I can see them getting to another final. There is something that happens when you win in the manner they did on Tuesday. There's a sort of invincibility that is created within the team. That confidence will stand them in good stead against anyone.

Ronaldo celebrated his winning penalty by mockingly recreating Diego Simeone's "cojones" gesture from the first leg, which was great entertainment, and I don't think the Argentinian will be boasting about his team's balls for a while. I was surprised by Atlético's lack of ambition. They never showed any desire to win the game, when one away goal would almost certainly have decided the tie in their favour. Álvaro Morata was isolated and Antoine Griezmann looked as if he didn't want to be there. I was shocked by how passive they were. This was a club that has reached two of the past five finals.

It was interesting that 24 hours after Ronaldo produced a statement performance Lionel Messi scored twice and created two more as Barcelona beat Lyon 5-1. I think comparisons between the two players are futile. I have been learning a lot about Italian history in my spare time and recently visited Florence and Rome, where I saw the incredible Renaissance artwork of Michelangelo and Da Vinci. It made me realise that having two greats in the same field at the same time can help produce greater achievement. Comparing Ronaldo and Messi is similar to comparing those two magnificent artists.

You can make your own mind up about which is the greater player, and there are strong arguments for both, but what Ronaldo has proved beyond doubt, time and again, is that when it really, really matters, in the biggest games of all, he is the difference.

## Fino alla fine

# Ronaldo's defining display shows 'until the end' spirit is alive at Juventus

Eni Aluko



**T**he Juventus motto is "fino alla fine" – in other words, until the end. On Tuesday evening the men's team proved these words are not empty but alive. Juve aspire to be a team who never give up, a team who burn with an indefatigable spirit, and this week it was there for all to see.

They showed it against Real Madrid in the quarter-finals of the Champions League last season, when they came back from a 3-0 first-leg deficit to level the tie at the Bernabéu, an incredible comeback that ended in disappointment when a late Cristiano Ronaldo penalty decided it in Real's favour. This year it was a different Madrid club, Atlético, a 2-0 deficit and Ronaldo – now wearing Juve's famous black and white – decided matters from the spot again.

I had tickets to Tuesday's game but the women's team had a match in Milan on Wednesday, the first leg of the Coppa Italia semi-final, and travelled the day before, so instead of being at the stadium we watched it together at the team hotel. It was hugely inspiring. We share the same shirt and philosophy, and the timing was perfect for what is a crucial month. The following night, motivated by the performance of the men's team, we went a goal down and came back to win 2-1. We are all part of a culture at the club that strives for excellence, with that *fino alla fine* spirit at the core of our mentality.

I thought it would be tough to come back against Atlético Madrid, primarily because the men have not been tested that much this season, especially in Serie A, where they are 18 points ahead. When they have been truly pushed in the Champions League, they have lost:



## Sport

## Alpine skiing

## Shiffrin wins World Cup super-G title

Mikaela Shiffrin won the World Cup super-G title for her 10th career crystal globe and Dominik Paris secured the men's title by winning the season-ending race at the World Cup finals. Both skiers won super-G titles at the world championships five weeks ago but had not won the season-long World Cup prize in the discipline before.

Shiffrin finished fourth in the women's race, which was won by Viktoria Rebensburg of Germany, for her first globe in a speed discipline. She has also won three overall titles and six slalom titles and is a strong favourite to add the giant slalom season prize on Sunday. "It's special because I really never thought I could be in this position this season already in super-G," said Shiffrin, who had not won a race in the discipline before this season. "The way that everybody came together and made this work was just amazing," Shiffrin said. **AP**



Mikaela Shiffrin's super-G win was her 10th career title

LIVE THIS WEEKEND

INDIAN WELLS

#FINALS

ATP MASTERS 1000

prime video

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## Cricket

## Farbrace considers Bayliss for Edgbaston-based Hundred team

Ali Martin

Paul Farbrace began life as Warwickshire's new director of sport yesterday but England's recently departed assistant coach is already eyeing a reunion with Trevor Bayliss.

Farbrace will sit on the board that runs the Edgbaston-based team in The Hundred - the new 100-ball tournament that begins in 2020 - and there have been informal chats with Bayliss about running the men's side after stepping down as England head coach in September.

No teams can make such appointments just yet as new companies must be set up first. But Warwickshire, and those at Worcestershire who will also pair up to run the new team - one of which will carry the Birmingham name - are seemingly keen to have their county first-XI coaches Jim Troughton and Alex Gidman working under a more experienced No 1.

Asked about the prospect of hiring Bayliss for this role and being his boss, having previously worked under the Australian at both Sri Lanka and England, Farbrace replied: "To be fair, he's not the sort of bloke who made me feel like he was my boss. He's a hands-on coach and organisation came down to me. So, if he does end up working here, that would be easy. We've never spoken about how we work. We always just got on with it. And I have learned so much from him."

"He's not the only candidate. But he's got Indian Premier League and

Big Bash experience and you want that when you're starting a new tournament and putting a team together in a short space of time."

The Professional Cricketers' Association has voiced concerns over county coaches such as Troughton also working at their equivalent team in The Hundred, with its chairman, Daryl Mitchell, claiming it could skew player recruitment at domestic level and lead to the creation of eight "super-counties".

On this Farbrace said: "The big clubs have always had a slight advantage. You want to work at the best places. I don't think there will too much concern in terms of tapping players up. It's an opportunity to get the best playing with the best."

Farbrace replaces Ashley Giles at the newly promoted Warwickshire and, having previously enjoyed working directly with players, he must now adjust to being more hands-off in a role that oversees all levels of both the men's and women's teams. "There's an element of the unknown," he admitted. "I'm keen to develop my own way. I won't try to copy Ash."



▲ Paul Farbrace has already held informal talks with Trevor Bayliss

## Golf

## Fleetwood win in US is a matter of time - McIlroy

Ewan Murray  
Sawgrass

It was hardly a shock to hear Rory McIlroy endorse the chances of Tommy Fleetwood winning in the United States before long. Singing Tommy's praises has become an understandable theme.

The Players Championship has not been kind to British players - Sandy Lyle is the only one to have won it, in 1987 - but Fleetwood is clearly of a mind to break the mould. A first-round 65, which included a closing nine of 30, catapulted the Southport player to the top of the leaderboard. "He is one of the best players in the world, and he's had his chances already," said McIlroy of his Ryder Cup teammate. "So, yes, I think it's only a matter of time for sure."

McIlroy's round was impressive enough. A bogey-free 67 may well have been better but for a freakish break at the 9th, his 18th, as McIlroy's ball flew 50 yards over the green having hit a sprinkler head. He demonstrated no

ill-effects whatsoever from falling short at the Arnold Palmer Invitational on Sunday. "It's a new week," McIlroy said. "That's the great thing about golf. Once you wake up on Monday morning, it's a fresh start. It's a new tournament, it's a new opportunity. That's the nice thing about our game, which doesn't happen in some other sports, and it's nice to take advantage of that luxury."

This, however, was Fleetwood's day again. It is to the 28-year-old's credit that he embraces the prospect of breaking his PGA Tour duck rather than being weighed down by the scale of the challenge.

"I love playing out here," Fleetwood said. "It's clearly the next step for me to win over here, but winning is not easy, and I've just got to keep plugging away, keep doing the right things and focus on myself."

"Hopefully that [victory] will come but there's no point in sort of not thinking about it or letting other people do the talking. Clearly that's sort of the next thing that's going to happen, everybody's career goes in those stages, and hopefully mine will be the same."

Dustin Johnson and Sergio García opened with three-under-par 69s. Justin Rose took a triple bogey at the 1st and double bogey at the 5th, which rendered his 74 far from disastrous. The American Brian Harman and South Korea's An Byeong-hun lie a shot adrift of Fleetwood.



**Sport**  
**Racing** Cheltenham Festival

**Preview**  
**Obeaux can strike Gold for Nicholls**

**Chris Cook**  
*Cheltenham Day Four guide*

The good times are back at Paul Nicholls’ yard, which has been celebrating the wins of Frodon and Topofthegame. Not since Kauto Star’s Gold Cup a decade ago has Nicholls won two Grade One chases at a single Festival but he has managed it this week and can crown the achievement in today’s Gold Cup with **Clan Des Obeaux (3.30)**.

For a long time this horse threatened not to make good on his big home reputation but he did so in thrilling style in the King George and his effort-less lope around Ascot last month confirmed he is all class. Both those wins were at right-handed tracks but it will be a surprise if he has a real problem turning the other way here and he looks the one to be with in a hot race.

**1.30** There is no pretending that

**Sir Erec** is a value price at the even-money on offer as I type but betting against him does not appeal in light of his storming Grade One success at Leopardstown. The stable has a good grip on the value of juvenile hurdle form just now, having won the Fred Winter on Tuesday. Sir Erec can be a second Triumph winner for Joseph O’Brien, or a first, depending on who you think was really training Ivanovich Gorbatov, which won in the name of his father, Aidan.

**2.10** Gordon Elliott’s **Eclair De Beaufeu**, on his first attempt in a handicap, ran on well to be fourth after having rather a lot of ground to make up at Leopardstown last month. It was a promising prep run for this County Hurdle and not dissimilar to the previous outing of Elliott’s Sire Du Berlais before he won the Pertemps here yesterday.



▲ *Joseph O’Brien saddles Sir Erec in the Triumph Hurdle this afternoon*

**2.50** A wildly impressive winner at Clonmel last month, **Allaho** is clearly a really promising youngster in the care of Willie Mullins. His stamina is not taken for granted, given that he races freely, but the ground seems to be drying here and he will hopefully be able to outpace the likes of Birchdale and Commander Of Fleet.

**4.10** A regular winner in points and hunter chases, **Hazel Hill** still seemed short of this class until an especially impressive win at Warwick in January. The veteran did enough there to suggest he may be able to hold off Stand Up And Fight.

**4.50** Nicholls is the most successful trainer in Grand Annual history, with four wins since 2004, and it is hard to resist the claims of his ex-French youngster, **Magic Saint**. He showed something in a couple of starts in the autumn but had evidently taken a big step forward by the time he reappeared in February, winning comfortably at Wincanton after being well backed. He is surely still ahead of his rating.

**5.30** Dallas Des Pictons is a worthy favourite but there might be a bit of value in the 16-1 about **Daybreak Boy**. A useful performer on the Flat, he has taken well to hurdles and was really eye-opening in victory at Clonmel in January.

**Today’s big race**  
**Cheltenham Gold Cup Chase**

Grade 1, Class 1, 3m 2f £351,688

<b>1</b> 2F1R-1	<b>Al Boum Photo</b> (73) Mrs J Donnelly WP Mullins (Ire) <b>P Townend</b>	11-10	83	
<b>2</b> F34-62	<b>Anibale Fly</b> (27) JP McManus AJ Martin (Ire) <b>B Geraghty</b>	11-10	84	
<b>3</b> 151-41	<b>Bellshill</b> (40) A/G Wylie	11-10 WP Mullins (Ire) <b>R Walsh</b>	85	
<b>4</b> 632-1F	<b>Bristol De Mai</b> (79,D) Munir/Souede	11-10 N Twiston-Davies <b>D Jacob</b>	86	
<b>5</b> 23-411	<b>Clan Des Obeaux</b> (27) Barber/Mason	11-10 P Nicholls <b>H Cobden</b>	87	
<b>6</b> 6U-112	<b>Definitely Red</b> (29,C,D,BF) P/J Martin	11-10 B Ellison <b>D Cook</b>	83	
<b>7</b> 4-F252	<b>Double Shuffle</b> (20) Crossed Fingers	11-10 TR George <b>J Burke★</b>	82	
<b>8</b> 3-1212	<b>Elegant Escape</b> (48,BF) JP Romans	11-10 C Tizzard <b>T O’Brien</b>	86	
<b>9</b> P3U-31	<b>Invitation Only</b> (50) A/G Wylie	11-10 WP Mullins (Ire) <b>P Mullins</b>	83	
<b>10</b> F11-11	<b>Kemboy</b> (77) Graham/Sharp	11-10 WP Mullins (Ire) <b>D Mullins</b>	88	
<b>11</b> 121-50	<b>Might Bite</b> (79,C,BF) Knot Again	11-10 N Henderson <b>N de Boinville</b>	86	
<b>12</b> /11-23	<b>Native River</b> (79,CD) Brocade	11-10 C Tizzard <b>R Johnson</b>	90	
<b>13</b> 1121-1	<b>Presenting Percy</b> (50,C) PJ Reynolds	11-10 PG Kelly (Ire) <b>D Russell</b>	89	
<b>14</b> /54-32	<b>Thistlecrack</b> (79,C) J/H Snook	11-10 C Tizzard <b>T Scudamore</b>	87	
<b>15</b> 66-135	<b>Yala Enki</b> (27,D,BF) Hills of Ledbury	11-10 Miss V Williams <b>C Deutsch</b>	82	
<b>16</b> 25-220	<b>Shattered Love</b> (77,C) Gigginstown	11-10 G Elliott (Ire) <b>J Kennedy</b>	84	

**Betting**  
100-30 Presenting Percy (👉), 4-1 Clan Des Obeaux, Native River, 8-1 Bellshill, 10-1 Kemboy, 12-1 Thistlecrack, 14-1 Al Boum Photo.

**Form**  
Native River showed great toughness when getting the better of **Might Bite** 12 months ago and looks ready to peak once more having not been at his best in his two runs since.

**Cheltenham card**

**1.30 JCB Triumph Hurdle (Grade 1) (Class 1) 4YO**  
2m 1f/£70,338

<b>1</b>	1-3123	<b>Adjali</b> (48,D,BF) N Henderson	11-0	<b>D Jacob</b> 82
<b>2</b>	13	<b>Authorizo</b> (20,BF) G Elliott	(Ire) 11-0	<b>J Kennedy</b> 80
<b>3</b>	12F4	<b>Coeur Sublime</b> (27,BF) G Elliott	(Ire) 11-0	<b>D Russell</b> 83
<b>4</b>	6	<b>Ecco</b> (20) P Nicholls	11-0	<b>H Skelton</b> 81
<b>5</b>	122	<b>Gardens of Babylon</b> (40) Joseph P O’Brien	(Ire) 11-0	<b>B Geraghty</b> 87
<b>6</b>	212	<b>Hannon</b> (19) J McConnell	(Ire) 11-0	<b>D Noonan</b> 84
<b>7</b>	116	<b>Nelson River</b> (48,CD) A Carroll	11-0	<b>H Bannister</b> 82
<b>8</b>	1	<b>Pentland Hills</b> (18) N Henderson	11-0	<b>N de Boinville</b> 84
<b>9</b>	-21F22	<b>Pic D’Orhy</b> (131) P Nicholls	11-0	<b>S Twiston-Davies</b> 88
<b>10</b>	211111	<b>Quel Destin</b> (27,C,D) P Nicholls	11-0	<b>H Cobden</b> 89
<b>11</b>	4	<b>Runrized</b> (47,BF) WP Mullins	(Ire) 11-0	<b>D Mullins</b> 78
<b>12</b>	11	<b>Sir Erec</b> (40) Joseph P O’Brien	(Ire) 11-0	<b>M Walsh</b> 90
<b>13</b>	24	<b>Tiger Tap Tap</b> (40) WP Mullins	(Ire) 11-0	<b>R Walsh</b> 84
<b>14</b>	21	<b>French Made</b> (64,D) WP Mullins	(Ire) 10-7	<b>P Townend</b> 82

**Betting** Evens Sir Erec, 5-1 Quel Destin, 8-1 Pic D’Orhy, 10-1 Gardens of Babylon, Tiger Tap Tap, 14-1 Adjali, 16-1 Pentland Hills, 25-1 Hannon.

**Form** The fact **Sir Erec** managed to finish placed in Group Two company on just his fifth Flat start marks him down as out of the ordinary for the division and his easy Spring Juvenile Hurdle win is the best form on offer. The Paul Nicholls-trained pair **Quel Destin** and **Pic d’Orhy** have had contrasting preparations but both are interesting.

**2.10 County Handicap Hurdle (Grade 3) (Class 1)**  
2m 1f/£56,270

<b>1</b>	1-4014	<b>Mohaayed</b> (55,CD) D Skelton	7 11-12	<b>B Andrews</b> 84
<b>2</b>	1-3441	<b>We Have A Dream</b> (29,D) N Henderson	5 11-11	<b>D Jacob</b> 85
<b>3</b>	5-5333	<b>Western Ryder</b> (55,CD,BF) W Greatrex	7 11-9	<b>H Teal</b> (5)★ 83
<b>4</b>	1122-2	<b>Mr Adjudicator</b> (125) WP Mullins	(Ire) 5 11-8	<b>P Townend</b> 86
<b>5</b>	0-5602	<b>Ch’tibello</b> (97,D) D Skelton	8 11-5	<b>H Skelton</b> 84
<b>6</b>	F-1220	<b>Lisp</b> (27) A King	5 11-4	<b>W Hutchinson</b> 82
<b>7</b>	4342-0	<b>Whiskey Sour</b> (F131,BF) WP Mullins	(Ire) 6 11-3	<b>R Walsh</b> 89
<b>8</b>	/6-132	<b>Leoncavallo</b> (179,D,BF) Dr R Newland	7 11-3	<b>S Twiston-Davies</b> ★ 85
<b>9</b>	-01116	<b>Mister Fizz</b> (121) Miss I Pickard	11 11-3	<b>L Williams</b> (5) 84
<b>10</b>	F54450	<b>Mitchouka</b> (41) G Elliott	(IRE) 5 11-1	<b>D Russell</b> 82
<b>11</b>	13/455	<b>Pingshou</b> (55,CD) C Tizzard	9 11-1	<b>R Power</b> ★ 81
<b>12</b>	016132	<b>Sternrubin</b> (24,D) P Hobbs	8 10-13	<b>M Nolan</b> 85
<b>13</b>	0-4111	<b>Crooks Peak</b> (13,C,D) P Hobbs	6 10-11 (5lb ex)	<b>R Johnson</b> 90
<b>14</b>	F5-041	<b>Capitaine</b> (24,D) P Nicholls	7 10-10	<b>H Cobden</b> 86
<b>15</b>	P0-022	<b>Cut The Mustard</b> (40) WP Mullins	(Ire) 7 10-10	<b>N Fehily</b> ★ 82
<b>16</b>	233114	<b>Eclair De Beaufeu</b> (41) G Elliott	(Ire) 5 10-9	<b>J Kennedy</b> 83
<b>17</b>	1F2160	<b>Due Reward</b> (41) H de Bromhead	(Ire) 6 10-9	<b>R Blackmore</b> 82
<b>18</b>	151104	<b>Storm Rising</b> (6,C,D) Dr R Newland	6 10-8	<b>C Hammond</b> (5)★ 84
<b>19</b>	/2115-	<b>Counteston</b> (365,D) N Henderson	7 10-6	<b>B Geraghty</b> 82
<b>20</b>	452103	<b>High Expectations</b> (78,D) G Elliott	(Ire) 8 10-6	<b>D O’Regan</b> 86
<b>21</b>	-3F112	<b>Monsieur Lecoq</b> (6) Mrs J Williams	5 10-5	<b>L Kelly</b> (3) 88
<b>22</b>	-11422	<b>Thistle Do Nicely</b> (15) J Snowden	5 10-5	<b>G Sheehan</b> 85
<b>23</b>	265022	<b>Magic Dancer</b> (27,CD) Kerry Lee	7 10-3	<b>R Patrick</b> (3) 84
<b>24</b>	F2F005	<b>Brex Drago</b> (13) G Cromwell	(Ire) 7 10-2	<b>J Kane</b> (5) 82
<b>25</b>	-03115	<b>Ar Mest</b> (27) G L Moore	6 10-0	<b>J Moore</b> 83
<b>26</b>	123014	<b>Chieftain’s Choice</b> (90,D) Kevin Frost	10 10-0	<b>S Coltherd</b> (3)★ 81

**Betting** 5-1 Whiskey Sour, 8-1 Capitaine, 10-1 Crooks Peak, Western Ryder, Ch’tibello, 12-1 Monsieur Lecoq, 14-1 Ar Mest, Mr Adjudicator.

**Form** The assessor did not have a lot to go on when allotting **Crooks Peak**’s opening mark and he took full advantage at Newbury a fortnight ago. Given he was value for extra and promises to be suited by this big-field environment, the follow-up under a 5lb penalty is a distinct possibility. **Whiskey Sour** was third in this a year ago and has been aimed at this.

**2.50 Albert Bartlett Novices’ Hurdle (Grade 1) (Class 1)**  
3m/£73,506

<b>1</b>	2-41	<b>Allaho</b> (29,D) WP Mullins	(Ire) 5 11-5	<b>R Walsh</b> 87
<b>2</b>	2-1V12	<b>Ask Ben</b> (27,D) G McPherson	6 11-5	<b>K Woods</b> 83
<b>3</b>	4-2166	<b>Aye Aye Charlie</b> (48) F O’Brien	7 11-5	<b>P Brennan</b> 84
<b>4</b>	1-11	<b>Birchdale</b> (48,C,D) N Henderson	5 11-5	<b>B Geraghty</b> 89
<b>5</b>	26/141	<b>Cap York</b> (23,D) N Meade	(re) 7 11-5	<b>B Cooper</b> 86
<b>6</b>	11-141	<b>Commander Of Fleet</b> (41,D) G Elliott	(Ire) 5 11-5	<b>J Kennedy</b> 88
<b>7</b>	-14200	<b>Darlac</b> (27) C Tizzard	6 11-5	<b>R Power</b> 76
<b>8</b>	422-11	<b>Derrinross</b> (76,D) J P Dempsey	(Ire) 8 11-5	<b>L Dempsey</b> 83
<b>9</b>	1-21	<b>Dickie Diver</b> (20,D) N Henderson	6 11-5	<b>A Coleman</b> 88
<b>10</b>	111110	<b>Dinons</b> (110,CD,BF) G Elliott	(Ire) 6 11-5	<b>D Russell</b> 90
<b>11</b>	115160	<b>Dorrells Pierji</b> (41,D) WP Mullins	(Ire) 6 11-5	<b>N Fehily</b> 79
<b>12</b>	214614	<b>First Approach</b> (41,D) N Meade	(Ire) 6 11-5	<b>S Flanagan</b> 82
<b>13</b>	-32211	<b>Lisnagar Oscar</b> (27,D) Miss R Curtis	6 11-5	<b>S Bowen</b> 87
<b>14</b>	13-32	<b>Minella Indo</b> (29,D) H de Bromhead	(Ire) 6 11-5	<b>R Blackmore</b> 84
<b>15</b>	4121	<b>Nadaitak</b> (48,D) B Pauling	5 11-5	<b>N de Boinville</b> 83
<b>16</b>	20-142	<b>Rhinestone</b> (41) Joseph P O’Brien	(Ire) 6 11-5	<b>M Walsh</b> 85
<b>17</b>	202146	<b>Rockpoint</b> (27,CD) C Tizzard	6 11-5	<b>T Scudamore</b> 81
<b>18</b>	-12123	<b>Stoney Mountain</b> (27) H Daly	6 11-5	<b>R Johnson</b> 87
<b>19</b>	1-1116	<b>Alsa Mix</b> (76,D) A King	7 10-12	<b>W Hutchinson</b> ★ 83
<b>20</b>	F5-11U	<b>Salsaretta</b> (41) WP Mullins	(Ire) 6 10-12	<b>P Townend</b> 84

**Betting** 5-1 Commander Of Fleet, 11-2 Birchdale, 6-1 Lisnagar Oscar, 7-1 Dickie Diver, 8-1 Derrinross, Allaho, 10-1 Dinons, 12-1 Rhinestone.

**Form** Traditionally a treacherous race for favourites and with that in mind it could pay to side with the experienced **Dinons**, who won here in October and who is easily excused his latest run when bidding for a six-timer. **Birchdale**, **Commander Of Fleet** and **Dickie Diver** are among the many others with bags of potential who should feature. **Stoney Mountain** is one to consider at a huge price.

**3.30 Gold Cup Chase (Grade 1) (Class 1)**  
3m 2f/£351,688

(Colour card and betting above)

**4.10 Foxhunter Hunters’ Chase (Class 2)**  
3m 2f/£26,685

<b>1</b>	21-422	<b>Ardkilly Witness</b> (27) Miss K Smith	13 12-0	<b>W Thirby</b> 84
<b>2</b>	42-221	<b>Asockastar</b> (29) Daniel Bourne	11 12-0	<b>B O’Neill</b> 82
<b>3</b>	01P-40	<b>Balnaslow</b> (33) GJ McKeever	(Ire) 12 12-0	<b>P Mullins</b> 83
<b>4</b>	1151-1	<b>Caid Du Berlais</b> (12,C) Mrs R Loxton	10 12-0	<b>W Biddick</b> 85
<b>5</b>	2-3124	<b>Chosen Dream</b> (54) GJ McKeever	(Ire) 11 12-0	<b>M O’Hare</b> 82
<b>6</b>	2-1152	<b>Coastal Tiep</b> (26) S Crawford	(Ire) 7 12-0	<b>B Crawford</b> 85
<b>7</b>	13-201	<b>Cousin Pete</b> (19,C) Mrs Brown	11 12-0	<b>N Phillips</b> 86
<b>8</b>	11-12P	<b>Dont Do Mondays</b> (12) Mrs L Lawson	12 12-0	<b>O Wedmore</b> 81
<b>9</b>	0/1-22	<b>Double Whammy</b> (292,D,BF) J Jardine	13 12-0	<b>T Hamilton</b> ★ 84
<b>10</b>	-P3011	<b>Haymount</b> (20) T Ellis	10 12-0	<b>G Andrews</b> 86
<b>11</b>	112-11	<b>Hazel Hill</b> (53) Philip Rowley	11 12-0	<b>A Edwards</b> 90
<b>12</b>	-21212	<b>Just Cause</b> (29,BF) JP Owen	9 12-0	<b>J Andrews</b> 81
<b>13</b>	1-2F12	<b>One Conemara</b> (19,BF) Mrs C Coward	11 12-0	<b>J Dawson</b> 79
<b>14</b>	4/31-5	<b>Pacha Du Polder</b> (27,CD) P Nicholls	12 12-0	<b>H Tucker</b> 85
<b>15</b>	111111	<b>Road To Rome</b> (27) JJ O’Shea	9 12-0	<b>S Waley-Cohen</b> 84
<b>16</b>	123242	<b>Samanntom</b> (26) PM J Doyle	11 12-0	<b>S Doyle</b> 80
<b>17</b>	2P-511	<b>Shantou Flyer</b> (19,C,D) Richard Hobson	9 12-0	<b>D Maxwell</b> ★ 86
<b>18</b>	-11311	<b>Some Are Lucky</b> (26) S Curling	(Ire) 8 12-0	<b>G Spain</b> 80
<b>19</b>	3-P121	<b>Southfield Theatre</b> (47,C) Mrs Sara V Bradstock	11 12-0	<b>L Bradstock</b> ★ 86
<b>20</b>	4P-112	<b>Stand Up And Fight</b> (47) E Bolger	(Ire) 7 12-0	<b>D O’Connor</b> 87
<b>21</b>	5P04-2	<b>Sybarite</b> (27,C,D) Miss V Collins	13 12-0	<b>L Pinchin</b> 78
<b>22</b>	/1312-	<b>Timewaitforsnoone</b> (322) A Fleming	(Ire) 7 12-0	<b>R Deegan</b> 83
<b>23</b>	/112P-	<b>Top Wood</b> (322) Miss Kelly Morgan	12 12-0	<b>T Worsley</b> ★ 84
<b>24</b>	PU-111	<b>Uccello Conti</b> (26) G Elliott	(Ire) 11 12-0	<b>J Codd</b> 88

**Betting** 10-3 Stand Up And Fight, 5-1 Uccello Conti, 11-2 Road To Rome, 6-1 Hazel Hill, 7-1 Shantou Flyer, 8-1 Caid Du Berlais, 14-1 Pacha Du Polder, 16-1 Top Wood, Haymount, 20-1 others.

**Form** The way **Hazel Hill** travelled and jumped before readily clearing away from a competitive field at Warwick really sticks in the mind and this 11-year-old, who is actually not fully exposed, looks to have all the attributes to make a

name for himself at the top level. **Stand Up And Fight** should be well respected based on connections and **Uccello Conti** can play a big part if jumping efficiently.

**4.50 Grand Annual H’cap Chase (Grade 3) (Class 1)**  
2m/£61,897

<b>1</b>	6-3F32	<b>Forest Bihan</b> (49,D) B Ellison	8 11-12	<b>D Cook</b> 86
<b>2</b>	123-22	<b>Gino Trail</b> (27,CD) Kerry Lee	12 11-11	<b>R Johnson</b> 87
<b>3</b>	1P-250	<b>Le Prezien</b> (41,CD) P Nicholls	8 11-10	<b>B Geraghty</b> 83
<b>4</b>	35-251	<b>Magic Saint</b> (27,D) P Nicholls	5 11-8	<b>H Cobden</b> 89
<b>5</b>	335-12	<b>Bun Doran</b> (90,CD,BF) TR George	8 11-7	<b>P Brennan</b> 85
<b>6</b>	-111P5	<b>Diakali</b> (78,CD) GL Moore	10 11-6	<b>J Moore</b> ★ 82
<b>7</b>	125-24	<b>Tree Of Liberty</b> (62,D) Kerry Lee	7 11-6	<b>R Patrick</b> (3) 84
<b>8</b>	3-6211	<b>Whatswrongwithyou</b> (19,D) N Henderson	8 11-4	<b>N de Boinville</b> ★ 88
<b>9</b>	-12P21	<b>Caid Du Lin</b> (111,D) Dr R Newland	7 11-3	<b>S Twiston-Davies</b> 81
<b>10</b>	253121	<b>Theflyingportrait</b> (107,D) Jennie Candlish	10 11-3	<b>S Quinlan</b> 82
<b>11</b>	30-4FF	<b>Top Gamble</b> (78,D) Kerry Lee	11 11-2	<b>M Enright</b> 81
<b>12</b>	311265	<b>Champagne At Tara</b> (49,D) Jonjo O’Neill	10 11-2	<b>J O’Neill Jr</b> (5) 80
<b>13</b>	-21655	<b>Mind’s Eye</b> (41,D) H de Bromhead	(Ire) 7 11-1	<b>R Blackmore</b> 83
<b>14</b>	31-166	<b>Mr Medic</b> (55) R Walford	8 11-0	<b>J Best</b> 85
<b>15</b>	-11542	<b>Theo</b> (13,D) Dr R Newland	9 10-12	<b>C Hammond</b> (5)★ 84
<b>16</b>	460632	<b>Marracudja</b> (78,CD,BF) D Skelton	8 10-12	<b>H Skelton</b> 86
<b>17</b>	0035/2	<b>Croco Bay</b> (227,D) B Case	12 10-12	<b>K Woods</b> 82
<b>18</b>	/11-31	<b>Not Another Muddle</b> (28,D) GL Moore	8 10-11	<b>J Moore</b> 90
<b>19</b>	-22151	<b>Brelan D’As</b> (28,D) P Nicholls	8 10-9	<b>B Frost</b> 83
<b>20</b>	10P113	<b>All Set To Go</b> (140,D) Kevin Frost	8 10-7	<b>G Sheehan</b> ★ 84



## Sport

### Racing Cheltenham Festival

# Paisley Park satisfies will of the people to give Gemmell emotional win

Chris Cook  
Cheltenham

Andrew Gemmell, the owner who has been blind since birth, got his cherished Festival winner 46 years after his first visit when Paisley Park carried his colours to win the Stayers' Hurdle.

"I can't believe it's happened, it's brilliant. It's a joke! Just a joke. I'm in tears. It's fantastic," said Gemmell as he was surrounded by well-wishers and led towards the winner's enclosure.

Paisley Park was sent off a well-supported favourite and there was little doubt where the crowd's sympathy lay at the turn for home as he raced alongside Faugheen in the pink and green colours of Rich Ricci. Would it be a first victory after years of trying for Gemmell or another trophy for Ricci, the executive chairman of a bookmaking firm that closed last week to great ill-feeling among its former customers?

Faugheen's stamina ebbed, leaving the final challenge to Sam Spinner, a disappointing favourite in this race last year and forgotten at 33-1 this time. Joe Colliver, Sam Spinner's jockey, makes life hard for himself and had to postpone a drink-driving court hearing in order to be racing, but he delivered a fine ride and came up short by only a couple of lengths.

"I hope it's the first of many. Let's keep coming back," said Gemmell, who has not allowed his disability to get in the way of what seems to have been a richly rewarding life, which lately includes attending major sports events around the world. Such records are not kept but it seems a fair bet he is the first Festival owner to have spent time on a picket line during the miners' strike, at which time he was a union official based in Westminster.

"If the will of the people was anything to go by, this horse was just going to win," said Paisley Park's trainer, Emma Lavelle. "I cannot say quite how bad our hangover is going to be in the morning.

"I felt calm until the race was about to jump off and then I thought I was going to burst into tears. You just feel those fairytales don't always happen. The most emotional I've been today was when Frodon and Bryony [Frost] won and I was like: 'Oh my God, that's amazing.' And then: 'Oh no! She's stolen the fairy tale!' But now we've got a chunk of it, so it's OK."



▲ The popular favourite won the Stayers' Hurdle by a couple of lengths



# Dream team of Frost and Frodon etch names into racing folklore

Rider's historic success follows victories for Kelly and Blackmore at the Festival

Chris Cook  
Cheltenham

Bryony Frost, with an ecstatic triple fist-pump as she crossed the line, made history on an emotionally charged day at the Festival when, most unusually, both the big races gave in to public demand and yielded the longed-for 'fairy tale' results. Angry words have been bandied around here this week, the result of conflict between racing professionals and those who run the sport, but those tensions were forgotten in collective admiration of the ebullient, charismatic Frost and her splendidly game partner, Frodon, who fought off all challengers to win the Ryanair Chase.

"He is Pegasus, he has got wings," gushed Frost, who became the first woman to ride a Grade One winner over these fences. The most blue-sky-thinking PR worker could not have dreamed up a more likeable jockey to achieve the feat, or a more versatile one, since Frost can drive a horse to the line and then immediately switch

to eulogising his performance. "That minute where he got overtaken two out, most horses would quit," she added, determined that all should share in her appreciation of Frodon's qualities. "But no, he grabbed me by the hands and said, 'Don't you dare give up. Don't you dare not send me into the last. I want this more than you, now come on! Where are you?'"

And, patting the diminutive chaser on the neck, she finished with: "He's unbelievable. I love you, mate!"

It was at the Festival two years ago that a 21-year-old Frost first made headlines, winning the Foxhunter Chase on Pacha Du Polder when she was still an amateur. Her partnership with Frodon is an indicator of the way her career has gone since; he was supposed to be someone else's ride but she happened to get on him one day, did

well and was on him again the next time. This is how the job must be done if, like Frost, you are working for a big stable among more senior jockeys and she has seized every chance that has come her way, winning major races at regular intervals.

Jockeys often say the first taste of glory in this hectic environment is fleeting and only a second one can really be savoured. Frost has been anticipating this Festival for weeks, since she and Frodon won here in January, and she milked the experience, from her well-chosen words straight afterwards through her triumphal return past the stands to the celebrations with her family on dismounting.

Among those there to greet her was her father, Jimmy, whose own riding career included a Champion Hurdle win here in 1991. "This is incredible," said the man to whom Frost still turns for guidance every day. "I'm so proud of her. I don't think they missed a beat out there, did they? We walked the course this morning and she just rode it absolutely to the minute, to the letter, to the second."

Is she as good as you were, he was asked. Frost has certainly not had a career yet to match her father's, considering he won a Grand National, too.

Still, he replied: "Oh, hundreds better. Both the children are better than me," gesturing to his son, Hadden, who rode his own winner here in 2010 and flew back from his job riding in the US to cheer on his sister.

Four different women rode winners

## Frost's rise to the top

**17 Mar 2017** First Cheltenham Festival winner (♂) aboard Pacha Du Polder in Foxhunters' Chase, getting home by a neck from Katie Walsh on Wonderful Charm.

**26 Dec 2017** First Grade One win on Black Corton in the Kauto Star Novice Chase at Kempton, becoming only the second woman to win at the highest level.

**12 Nov 2018** Rides out her claim with her 75th victory - on Marienstar at Kempton - and joins the ranks of full professional jockeys.

**14 Mar 2019** First female jockey to win a Grade One over jumps at the Festival as Frodon leads the field home in the Ryanair Chase.

**'He said I want this more than you, now come on! Where are you?'**





▲ *Bryony Frost on Frodon becomes the first woman to win a Grade One Chase at the Cheltenham Festival*  
TOM JENKINS/  
THE GUARDIAN



▲ *Lizzy Kelly is ecstatic as she returns following her triumph yesterday*

▼ *Rachael Blackmore celebrates after A Plus Tard's win on Tuesday*



at the last Festival and this one is going the same way, as Lizzy Kelly scored an hour after Frost ("I watched Bryony and thought, that was my game-plan!") while Rachael Blackmore had her moment here on Tuesday. There is no parity in the weighing room, not yet anyway, since men still take the lion's share of the rides, but women are evidently able to muscle their way in, which did not seem true 15 years ago.

At some point Frost's achievements may stop being framed in the context of her being a female jockey. But for as long as she is doing things that have never been done by a woman before, it seems valid. Surely there is another generation of female riders on their way, taking inspiration from her deeds, as well as those of Nina Carberry, Katie Walsh and others.

Frost, like Blackmore, could not be more clear that she does not want to be defined by her sex. "I do what I do," she said here. "If I was a boy, I'd ride the same. I'd show my emotions exactly the same. It's just the style I've got."

And there is no danger of anything going to her head, as she promised to be in bed by 9.30pm, ready for an early shift of mucking out at Paul Nicholls' Somerset stable this morning. "That's one of the best days ever," said the trainer, who, perhaps crucially, took Frodon to Wincanton for a racecourse gallop last Friday to sharpen up his fitness. Nicholls has now had two Grade One wins here this week and hopes to make it three, with Clan Des Obeaux, in today's Gold Cup. "I knew he had to be mega, mega fit today, to bowl along in front like that," Nicholls said. "I said to Bryony, just keep saving and use one run from the back of the last, and she did that brilliantly."

## Ferguson dream will come true if Clan lifts Cup

The former Manchester United manager may realise his ultimate ambition in racing today at Cheltenham

**Greg Wood**  
Cheltenham

Many owners get into racing as an escape from the pressures of their day job. Few have done so with as pressurised a day job as manager of Manchester United, nor enjoyed such a full, colourful and at times controversial career on the turf as Sir Alex Ferguson, who will be at Cheltenham today to watch Clan Des Obeaux, a horse he part-owns, line up for the Gold Cup as one of the favourites.

Nothing could ever match the excitement and triumphs during Ferguson's 26 years at Old Trafford but his 21 years as a racehorse owner have still seen plenty of drama. Racing, he said after a winner at Aintree nine years ago, has been "wonderful" for him and "a release from the grind" of life as a football manager. Now, in his retirement and still recovering from life-saving brain surgery less than a year ago, he is on the verge of what would arguably be the most memorable success of all.

It all started on a spring afternoon at Newmarket in April 1998. Football royalty met the sport of kings as Queensland Star, a relatively cheap buy at around £17,000, won a minor race at the first time of asking.

The colt was named after a ship which Ferguson's father, who worked in the Govan shipyards and had a "tanner Yankee" on the horses every Saturday, had helped to build.

Since then the highs have included a Classic winner, several victories at the highest level both on the Flat and over jumps and a fancied runner in the Grand National. The nadir, of course, was the long-running saga of Ferguson's claim to a share of the breeding rights in Rock Of Gibraltar, a dispute which placed Manchester United's manager in the uncomfortable position of launching a legal action

against John Magnier, one of the club's major shareholders.

Ferguson had been an owner for only a few years when the Rock took the 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket in 2002 at the start of what was to become a record-breaking seven-race winning streak in Group One events.

With hindsight Ferguson's claim to a half-share in the colt's £50m breeding rights appears naive.

Yet his determination to pursue it led to protests at racecourses by Manchester United fans taking his side in the dispute. The threat of further disruption at the 2004 Cheltenham Festival receded only when Ferguson himself intervened, issuing a plea to supporters to "refrain from any form of protest" as "Cheltenham is such a great festival and I don't want it marred in any way".

None of Ferguson's subsequent Flat horses have threatened to scale such heights but over jumps he has enjoyed regular success via shares in horses in Paul Nicholls's yard. Clan Des Obeaux, already the winner of the King George VI Chase at Kempton on Boxing Day, is a young, hugely talented chaser with the best of his career still in front of him.

"It's exciting stuff and it's good to have him on board," Nicholls says. "He still loves his racing and this is probably the best jumps horse he's been involved in."

"He loves the sport and loves talking to people about it and I think he likes having the young people around him, who are so enthusiastic about everything they do. He's always supported Harry [Cobden, Clan Des Obeaux's jockey] and said that he's a good young lad who's going to get better and better."

Nicholls has been resurgent at this Festival, winning two Grade One races following several leaner years after the era dominated by the Gold Cup winners, Kauto Star and Denman.

"It's like a football team, as Alex always says," Nicholls said. "Its dips and troughs and you're only as good as the team you've got. You can't expect to get the top players or the top horses all the time. You have to be patient and wait until they come along and then have the patience not to rush them before they're ready. You let some go at the top and bottom and keep replacing them and hope to get a championship team."

Ferguson has a relatively minor role to play in the latest championship squad being assembled at Nicholls's stable. It would still seem appropriate, though, if Clan Des Obeaux could come with a late charge in Friday's Gold Cup and get his head in front in Fergie Time.



◀ *Sir Alex Ferguson with Clan Des Obeaux's jockey, Harry Cobden (second left), and trainer, Paul Nicholls (third left), at Old Trafford*

# Cheltenham Gold Cup

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## Sport

### Rugby union Guinness Six Nations



## Grand finale

# There is another gear – and Wales will find it

Jamie Roberts

Wales will need to save their best for last against an Ireland team who have yet to hit top form, but I cannot see them losing. They have been criticised for not showing much attacking flair, but it is defence that wins tournaments and the way they held on at Murrayfield last weekend showed the character of a resilient side.

Wales may not have taken too many risks, but they have played smart, winning rugby. When they have had to deliver at key moments, in attack and defence, they have. They never throw in the towel, a hallmark of champions. They have shown a desperate desire to wear the jersey this tournament and, as a Welshman, that makes me very proud.

I played in Wales' last grand slam year, 2012, and while you are a bit nervy in the leadup to the final match, you are also excited. As a professional rugby player, there is nowhere you would rather be tomorrow than the Principality Stadium with the chance to make history. Only four of the players were involved in the grand slam match against France seven years ago, but all the coaches were and they will make sure every player is fresh and ready to go come tomorrow afternoon.

I can imagine being at training this week. The sessions will have been short and sharp, with the coaches only too aware that Ireland demand the best of players physically and mentally. I played under Warren Gatland and his coaching team for a long time; they know how a team work and how to bring the best out of individuals.

Their man-management skills are

spot-on. They know when to push and when to hold back. When I look back on the tournaments I won with Wales, it was the hardest I trained in my career. Warren will have the players believing they are fitter, faster and stronger than anyone and that their hard work will deliver what they deserve.

Warren has been hugely influential in his 12 years with Wales. He does not say much during the week of a match. He lets his coaches

**We may not have Ireland's strength in depth but what we do have in the squad is concentrated quality**



The influence of Shaun Edwards has been key for Wales

coach and oversees everything, but he knows when to put an arm around a player. He is aware there is another gear in the side and I think they will find it.

When I watched Wales keep out Scotland, you could see the work put in by Shaun Edwards. One of his key phrases is that defence wins championships and a significant reason why Wales are going for the grand slam is they are a very hard team to score against. England fell after failing to work out a way to unlock them.

Wales are astute at the breakdown, the area where a game tends to be decided. They do not commit too many players and they are ruthlessly efficient at clearing rucks when they have the ball. Shaun is meticulous in his planning; he feels he is part of the side and it is like he is on the pitch alongside you. The lads thrive off his desire and hunger.

Wales' results this season have been all the more impressive given what has been going on off the field with the regions. Again, that is where the coaches come in. We may not have Ireland's strength in depth or successful teams below international level, but what we do have in the national squad is concentrated quality.

The policy after the last World Cup was to develop strength in depth so there were three or four players in each position who were Test-match ready. I was privileged to captain the side on tour in 2017 when we played Tonga and Samoa. I did not know some of the players in the squad, but they had been identified and were given the chance to step up. If you do not roll the dice, you will never know, and what has happened in the past few months has not been by accident.

I would love to be involved tomorrow having been in Warren's squads for years, but to be successful in professional sport you have to be ruthless. Selection is about opinion and Warren makes that clear to the players. It is about gut feeling, the direction the game is going and what he senses.

I was part of it for a long time and suddenly I wasn't. The biggest challenge is not to take it personally, although your first instinct is to do exactly that. Decisions are made for the good of the side and you have to respect that, hoping your chance will come again. At least I will be at the ground as part of the BBC's radio commentary team.

I remember when Wales won the grand slam in 2005. I watched the game outside the National Museum, a student overindulging on cider. There were 250,000 people in Cardiff then and there will be again. Wales has a real passion for rugby and days like tomorrow, with the chance of a grand slam in the toughest of tournaments, are special. Ireland's ruthlessly efficient machine is starting to work again, but as long as Wales keep the penalty count low, another big moment will be nailed.

Jamie Roberts has won 94 caps for Wales, is a British & Irish Lion, and plays for Bath

## Gatland backs himself to guide team to title No 4

Paul Rees

A feature of Warren Gatland's coaching career is that his teams tend to deliver when it matters. When he had a dig at England last month for bottling it on the big occasion, Wales' coach did so from a position of having won six finals out of six with Wasps and Waikato and overseen two grand slams with Wales.

He also won and drew decisive Tests in charge of the Lions this decade and Gatland is drawing on his big-game experience as Wales aim for a third grand slam and fourth title in his final Six Nations with them by defeating the first country he coached, Ireland, in Cardiff tomorrow.

"I pride myself on the record I have had in big matches when it has really mattered," Gatland said after announcing an unchanged 23. "I get even more of a buzz when people write us off, which has happened on a number of occasions. It's about building belief and confidence in the players. It is important the coaches are positive and often it comes down to which team wants it that little bit more. If you want something badly enough and really believe it can happen, it often does."

A crucial match in Cardiff would not be complete without a dispute over whether the roof at the Principality Stadium should be open or closed. Wales prefer the latter, something Ireland agreed to two years ago only to find the sprinklers on shortly before kick-off.

Joe Schmidt said he was not prepared to leave the decision to Wales. "A lot was said two years ago about making it good for the spectators but the sprinklers were on for 30 minutes and the ground was very damp when the game started," the Ireland coach said. "We might as well keep the roof open and let the rain come in rather than have it closed and wet."

Wales have appealed to the Six Nations to make a ruling, with the weather forecast predicting heavy rain and strong winds. "It's our stadium and we should be able to do what we want with it," Gatland said.

Schmidt has made three changes to the Ireland side who defeated France on Sunday. The former Scarlet Tadhg Beirne and Sean O'Brien replace the injured Iain Henderson and Josh van der Flier, while Rob Kearney has recovered from a calf strain to return at full-back.

Wales are chasing a record fourth grand slam in the Six Nations era, with Gatland aiming to become the first coach to win three. One statistical quirk is they have only once this century defeated England and Ireland in Cardiff in the same championship campaign, 2005, and the previous year they managed it was in 1981.

"I have not seen a group as tight and close as this for a long time," said Gatland, when asked to compare the squad with those in his grand slam years of 2008 and 2012. "Rob Evans [the prop] summed it up when he said there was not anyone in the squad he would not do something for or help out. Our message to the players this week has been that we will do whatever it takes to get them prepared and we have had a couple of unusual requests."

Gatland knows Ireland will not surrender their title without giving everything. Discipline will be key for Wales if they are to keep the ball in play and deny their opponents penalties to kick to touch and drive lineouts, the source of three of their four tries against France. Wales were penalised only three times against England, a figure that rose to 11 in Scotland.

"I have already spoken to the referee [Angus Gardner]," Gatland said. "Our discipline against England was such we negated their set piece: they would have spent three or four hours working on lineouts and it was a waste of time as they had only four. We must not allow Ireland a platform to work off, and a big part of that is making sure our discipline is good. I told the referee we were not at our best last week with some of the penalties we conceded and it has been a big focus for us this week."

Like Gatland, Schmidt is preparing his side for the final time in the Six Nations. "It has been a frustrating tournament," he said. "We started on a really flat note against England and have not been as cohesive as we would have liked but we go into the final week-end still in contention for the title."



▲ Warren Gatland is looking for his third grand slam as Wales' coach

## Wales

## Ireland

Tomorrow 2.45pm

Wales	Ireland
L Williams Saracens	15 R Kearney Leinster
G North Ospreys	14 K Earls Munster
J Davies Scarlets	13 G Ringrose Leinster
H Parkes Scarlets	12 B Aki Connacht
J Adams Worcester	11 J Stockdale Ulster
G Anscombe C'diff Blues	10 J Sexton Leinster
G Davies Scarlets	9 C Murray Munster
R Evans Scarlets	1 C Healy Leinster
K Owens Scarlets	2 R Best Ulster (c)
T Francis Exeter	3 T Furlong Leinster
A Beard Ospreys	4 T Beirne Munster
AW Jones Ospreys (c)	5 James Ryan Leinster
J Navidi Cardiff Blues	6 P O'Mahony Munster
J Tipuric Ospreys	7 S O'Brien Leinster
R Moriarty Dragons	8 CJ Stander Munster
Replacements	Replacements
E Dee Dragons	N Scannell Munster
N Smith Ospreys	D Kilcoyne Munster
D Lewis Cardiff Blues	A Porter Leinster
J Ball Scarlets	Q Roux Connacht
A Wainwright Dragons	J Conan Leinster
A Davies Ospreys	K Marmion Connacht
D Biggar Northampton	J Carty Connacht
O Watkin Ospreys	J Larmour Leinster

Venue Principality Stadium  
Referee Angus Gardner (Aus)

TV BBC1 & S4C Radio BBC 5 Live





# World Rugby tempts Six Nations with £5bn carrot

Paul Rees

World Rugby wants its plan for a Nations Championship to be resolved at its council meeting in May so it does not get lost in the buildup the World Cup. The governing body yesterday met the chief executives and chairmen of all the unions who would be involved in Dublin, looking to win over the sceptics in the Six Nations with the promise of a £5bn windfall.

The championship would start in 2022, adding to the Six Nations and the Rugby Championship, which would increase from four to six teams, with a series of cross-tournament matches in the July and November international windows that culminate in a grand final.

The proposal, which was driven by World Rugby's vice-chairman Agustín Pichot, has been far better received in the southern hemisphere than in the north, where the Six Nations countries

have resisted the demand to introduce promotion and relegation.

World Rugby, which intends talks to resume next month after union officials receive mandates, wants the Six Nations and the Rugby Championship to be underpinned by two divisions of emerging nations who would all have a pathway to the top. There would be relegation only every two years, after a World Cup and a Lions tour, and a team that went down would be given a parachute payment.

The World Rugby chairman, Bill Beaumont, called the meeting after leaks about the plan drew the opposition of players and the Pacific island countries, who were upset at reports they would be excluded. The international players' association was represented in Dublin, although club organisations were not invited because the intention is to involve them if the unions agree to the championship.

Part of Pichot's motivation was to establish a better business model for the southern hemisphere nations

who have been unable to compete with clubs in England, France and Japan over salaries. World Rugby told the unions that the championship could generate £5bn over 12 years and that they would all be better off by some £10m a year at the start and considerably more at the end of the 12 years.

The Six Nations have been talking to CVC, the private equity company that has taken a stake in the Gallagher Premiership and is in talks with the Pro 14. CVC wants to control the commercial arm of the tournament in return for 30% of the profits but World Rugby pointed out that under its plan all the income generated would go back into the sport and ensure it remained on free-to-air television.

"We are encouraged that the format revisions and robust financial model were well received," said Beaumont. "As you would expect in an ambitious, complex and multi-stakeholder project, not everyone is in full agreement, including the matter of promotion and relegation, but we will continue to engage and consult."

"This is a pivotal time for the game. Only by keeping the best interests of the global game at heart will we be able to achieve something truly impactful for the future success and sustainability."



Joe Cokanasiga was the man of the match in the win over Italy but will sit out England's Six Nations match against Scotland with Eddie Jones saying he is protecting the wing from hype. 'I don't need to fast-track him,' said the coach

TIM IRELAND/AP

## Jones expecting explosion from 'urgent' England against Scotland

Continued from back page

gest England have averaged more tackles per game than anyone else in the tournament but, according to Jones, his squad are in prime fettle. "We had a training run on Wednesday which in terms of all the GPS data was by far our most impressive. So we're going in a great direction and Saturday will be a bit of an explosion. There's a great deal of urgency about what we want to do and the point we want to prove. We've got an opportunity to show we're the best team in the Six Nations and approaching the best team in the world, and we're not going to miss that opportunity."

Jones is also keen to stress he foresees a brilliant future for Joe Cokanasiga despite omitting the 21-year-old Bath wing from his 23-man squad to face the Scots. Cokanasiga was man of

England		Scotland	
E Daly Wasps		S Maitland Saracens	
J Nowell Exeter		D Graham Edinburgh	
H Slade Exeter		N Grigg Glasgow	
M Tuilagi Leicester		S Johnson Glasgow	
J May Leicester		B McGuigan Sale	
O Farrell Saracens (c)		F Russell Racing 92	
B Youngs Leicester		A Price Glasgow	
B Moon Exeter		A Dell Edinburgh	
J George Saracens		S McNally Edinburgh (c)	
K Sinckler Harlequins		WP Nel Edinburgh	
J Launchbury Wasps		B Toolis Edinburgh	
G Kruis Saracens		G Gilchrist Edinburgh	
M Wilson Newcastle		S Skinner Exeter	
T Curry Sale		H Watson Edinburgh	
B Vunipola Saracens		M Bradbury Edinburgh	
Replacements		Replacements	
L Cowan-Dickie Exeter		F Brown Glasgow	
E Genge Leicester		G Reid London Irish	
D Cole Leicester		S Bergham Edinburgh	
B Shields Wasps		J Gray Glasgow	
N Hughes Wasps		J Strauss Sale	
B Spencer Saracens		G Laidlaw Clermont	
G Ford Leicester		A Hastings Glasgow	
B Te'o Worcester		C Harris Newcastle	
Venue Twickenham		Referee Paul Williams (NZ)	
TV ITV Radio BBC 5 Live		13°	

Formula One

## Hamilton leads tributes after death of 'iconic' Whiting at 66

Giles Richards  
Melbourne

Lewis Hamilton and Sebastian Vettel have led the tributes to Charlie Whiting, the Formula One race director who died suddenly yesterday, three days before the first grand prix of the season in Australia. Whiting, who had been at the Albert Park circuit in Melbourne on Wednesday, died as a result of a pulmonary embolism. He was 66.

Whiting had been the FIA race director since 1997 and was responsible for all track activity over a race weekend, including safety, starting the race and enforcing rules and regulations. He had been a driving force in promoting safety in F1, including the introduction of the halo cockpit protection device last year, which proved invaluable in preventing Charles Leclerc from being hit by an airborne car at the Belgian Grand Prix.

Well-liked and hugely respected, the paddock was left shocked by his death. "I have known Charlie since I started in 2007," Hamilton said. "Incredibly shocked to hear the sad news and my thoughts and prayers are with his family."

"All he did for the sport, his commitment, he really was a pillar, such an iconic figure within the sporting world and he contributed so much to us."

Hamilton also recognised Whiting's commitment to making F1 safer. "Charlie did so much for this sport and helped push on so many areas for the drivers and their safety," he posted on Instagram.

Vettel, who has also known Whiting since he began in Formula One in 2007, was with the race director the day before his death. "I spoke to him and walked the first corners of the track with him," the Ferrari driver said. "It is difficult to grasp when somebody is just not there any more. I have known him for a long time, he has been our man, the drivers' man - there's the regulations and there's us and he was the middle man."

"You could ask anything at any time, he was open to anyone; his door was always open. He was a racer, just a very nice guy. All our thoughts, the whole paddock, the whole family of F1, are with him and his family."

Whiting had a long career in motor sport. He started out by preparing rally cars before running a Surtees car with

**'All he did for the sport, his commitment, he really was a pillar'**

**Lewis Hamilton**  
F1 world champion



Charlie Whiting in Barcelona during testing last month

his brother for the driver Divina Galica in the 1976 British F5000 series.

He joined the Hesketh F1 team in 1977 before linking up with Bernie Ecclestone's Brabham, where he remained for a decade and was the chief mechanic and later the chief engineer as Nelson Piquet won his titles in 1981 and 1983. In 1988 he joined the FIA as technical delegate to Formula One and became the director in 1997.

Ecclestone, a long-time friend of Whiting, said: "It's a big, big, big loss. He kept things on the road and kept the FIA pretty well straight, because he'd look after the rules and everything else. People talk about him as a race director but it was a small part of all the things he did. A talented guy who loved doing what he wanted to do."

"Two or three of the top teams tried to get him to be their team manager but he thought he could do a lot better for everyone doing what he did. He did it as a one-man job. It's finding this person who can do what Charlie did. If you've got three or four people doing what he did, it just doesn't work."

Ecclestone added: "He went to bed and didn't get up in the morning, which is as good as it gets if you've got to leave us."

Ross Brawn, the F1 managing director of motorsports, said he was devastated. "I was filled with immense sadness when I heard the tragic news. It is a great loss not only for me personally but also the entire Formula One family."

The Mercedes team principal, Toto Wolff, described Whiting as a "guardian of the sport's best interests", while the Red Bull chief, Christian Horner, said he was "a great man" and "a man of great integrity". The head of Ferrari, Mattia Binotto, said he was "a tireless and enlightened motorsport expert, he helped make F1 safer and better. He was a pillar of Formula One."

The FIA president, Jean Todt, said: "Charlie Whiting was a great race director, a central and inimitable figure in Formula One who embodied the ethics and spirit of this fantastic sport."

The FIA has appointed Michael Masi as the race director, permanent starter and safety delegate for Sunday's grand prix. The Australian was already a deputy race director to Whiting and worked with him at several of last season's grands prix.

The Haas team principal, Gunther Steiner, said the teams will do everything they can to support Masi. "We are here to make it happen for the people that need to step in, because these are big shoes that need to be filled," he said.

"In the end we'll make sure nothing goes through the cracks. For this weekend our aim is, 'If they need our help, we're here to help.'"



Sport  
Football

# 'Veganism has served me really well. I feel like I can recover quicker'

Diet, athletics and basketball have helped take Watford's Adrian Mariappa to an FA Cup quarter-final against Palace

Simon Burton

It is three years since Watford last played Crystal Palace in the FA Cup, Palace prevailing at Wembley in the 2016 semi-finals. It is a match that carries particularly strong memories for Adrian Mariappa; as a graduate of Watford's youth system he was looking forward to facing his former club on the nation's greatest stage, but what could have been one of the highlights of his career became one of its greatest disappointments.

"I travelled but I didn't make the bench and I was devastated," he recalls. "Devastated. We played a league game during the week and I started that game. I came to Wembley, playing Watford, my hometown club, and when I found out I wasn't involved at all, not even on the bench, it was gut-wrenching. I tried to keep a positive outlook for the guys who were playing, and it was a great day for the club, but it wasn't a nice feeling."

Four months later he rejoined Watford after a four-year absence, apparently as low-cost squad padding, a free-transfer homegrown player to make up the numbers. During the first 30 league games of that campaign, three while still at Palace and the remainder in Hertfordshire, he did not spend a single minute on the pitch. The following April, amid a horrendous injury crisis, Walter Mazzarri was forced to give him a go and Mariappa kept his place for the remainder of the season.

Mazzarri's successor, Marco



Mariappa rejoined Watford from Palace in 2016

Silva, and the current manager, Javi Gracia, both doubted the defender, casting him to the sidelines before being won over. He has played 56 of 77 league games since April 2017, and is now 21st on the list of the club's all-time appearance-makers with 309.

"There's been moments that have been really tough in my career, when I'm not playing," he says. "For a long time at Palace I was travelling to matches and I wasn't making the bench, and I hardly played any league games. It does become tough mentally. But I don't think I ever doubted myself or my ability. I just knew I had to get through this time and stick to the principles that have got me to this place. You skip forward to now, it's justification to myself, I was doing the right things."

"Football's an opinion-based sport and you can go from one manager who believes in you, believes in your ability and plays you every week, to another manager who might not think you're for them, and through all that you need to have complete belief and try to do all the small one percents to improve. That's what I believe. I'll work on the little one percents to improve myself and make myself a better player and the rest of it essentially isn't in your hands."

It is a lesson Mariappa had to learn early. Having joined Watford as an eight-year-old he worked his way through the system until at 15 they decided not to offer him a scholarship and for a while the dream seemed, if not dead, then at least very distant.

"I was playing up with the under-17s when I got my decision that I wasn't going to get a full scholarship. And the next day I was back playing in the under-15s. At the time that felt like my world had shattered. But the next day I made the decision that I would do everything I could, everything that was in my control to try to make it in football."

"I didn't use it as an excuse, I used it as something to spur me on. They're principles that have stuck with me, throughout my whole career. When I came here I was probably the sixth-choice centre-half, and I had to wait for a lot of injuries to get an opportunity. I've always tried to stick by what I know is the right thing to do - train hard, keep myself mentally at it, so when I get an opportunity I can take it."

As a teenager Mariappa enrolled with an athletics club, missing summer holidays to work on improving his speed. "My sprint technique was terrible - quite flat-footed, I needed to learn to run on my toes," he says. He was also shorter than most centre-backs, so he joined a basketball club to improve his jumping. "I moved to

centre-half at a very young age and probably from the age of 14 onwards I was told, every single year, I was going to have to try to adapt my game to play right-back or midfield."

"But I knew my best position was centre-half and I used to work relentlessly on my jumping and my timing. My dad used to do loads of work in the garden with me. I always enjoy the challenge of playing against someone who's bigger than me, and trying to prove that it doesn't matter about my height [5ft 11in]. If I hadn't worked on that, and I didn't get my timing and my jumping right, I don't even know what would have happened."

Now 32, he continues to work on those one percents. More recently, hoping for another small improvement, he adopted a vegan diet. "I did a bit of research and thought: 'Let's give it a go.' I've never been one to follow a fad diet. A lot of

▼ Adrian Mariappa was told, aged 15, he had no future at Watford but he has made 309 appearances for the club

GRAEME ROBERTSON/THE GUARDIAN



**'I'll never be able to get away from Watford. Whatever I'm doing I'll always be part of this club'**

people have said I'm just following a trend but a year and a half later I'm still doing it. I wouldn't say I'll never go back to eating meat but I can't see myself going back to eating meat. It's served me really well so far. I feel like I can recover quicker and obviously the older you get, the more important being able to recover is."

He is in some ways an embodiment of the club he represents, not only because it is nearly a quarter of a century since he first joined - "I'll never be able to get away from Watford; whatever I'm doing I'll always be part of this club" - but because Watford, like Mariappa, are smaller than many of their rivals, often unfancied, forced to work tirelessly on the one percents to remain competitive.

There are 31 English clubs, including every Premier League team except Bournemouth, who exceed Watford's average attendance of 20,211 this season, yet Gracia's side are eighth in the table and will reach another FA Cup semi-final should they beat Palace tomorrow.

"I don't think we've finished yet," Mariappa says. "I don't think the owners here will settle for complacency. They won't let the players do it and the manager definitely won't. A lot of people thought at this point in the season we would just down tools but we haven't - we're trying to maintain our form and keep pushing on, and we've shown that in our performances and results."

"Who knows where the club can go? One step at a time. We just want to finish the season well and make another big step forward."



# Scholes resigns at Oldham after 31 days claiming he was misled

Paul Wilson

Paul Scholes has resigned as the manager of Oldham after 31 days in charge, claiming he was misled over the amount of control he would be allowed and did not find it possible to work as he intended.

The former Manchester United midfielder won his first match as the manager of his boyhood team with a 4-1 victory over Yeovil but that was

his only win in seven games, and the subsequent three draws and three defeats have left Oldham in 14th place in League Two.

The 44-year-old joins Gary Neville in the awkward position of being an outspoken pundit unable to put his ideas into practice when given the chance, though at least he has left on his own terms. Neville was sacked after less than four months at Valencia.

Scholes may have been facing the same fate after losing at home to Morecambe and being held by Crewe



Paul Scholes left Oldham after winning one of his seven matches in charge

and Cambridge, though in a statement released after informing the club of his decision yesterday afternoon he suggested disappointment at promises he claimed had not been kept.

"It is with great regret that I have decided to leave with immediate effect," Scholes said. "The fans, the players and my friends and family all knew how proud I was to take this job, and I hoped at the very least to see out my initial term of 18 months as the manager of a club I've supported all my life.

"But in the short period since I took on the role it unfortunately became clear I would not be able to operate as I intended and was led to believe. I wish the fans, the players and the staff - who have been tremendous - all the best for the rest of the season and

will continue to watch and support the club as a fan."

Scholes is believed to have insisted on no interference from the owner, Abdallah Lemsagam, as a condition of becoming the manager. A club statement on his departure limited itself to thanking him for his services and wishing him well.

"We would like to place on record our thanks to Paul for his efforts during his spell in charge and would like to wish him well for the future," Oldham's statement said. "An update on the permanent replacement will be made as soon as possible."

Lemsagam, a Moroccan former football agent who took over Oldham in January 2018, said when he appointed Scholes that "Paul will have my backing 100%".

# Milner: Europe respects us - now for trophies

Andy Hunter

James Milner believes Liverpool have earned the respect of Europe with their Champions League rise under Jürgen Klopp but admits he will not be satisfied until a trophy finally returns to Anfield.

Liverpool's comfortable defeat of Bayern Munich at the Allianz Arena, where the serial German champions had lost only one of their previous 26 Champions League games, was arguably their finest European away display under Klopp and demonstrated the quality that delivered a place in last season's final. England will have four representatives in today's quarter-final draw and, though keen to avoid an all-Premier League affair, Milner believes all of Europe view Liverpool as a team to avoid.

"I'd like to think teams have that respect for us," the midfielder said. "We got to the Champions League final last year. We got to the Europa League final in 2016. There are two European finals since I have been at the club. We are challenging for the Premier League too. Whether teams take notice is not really for us to worry about but they take notice after they have played us and we have put them out."

Liverpool are back on the international map, according to their manager, but Milner admits the failure to win a trophy under Klopp is hard to stomach. It is also a motivation to go one better in this season's Champions League and for the Premier League title race, the 33-year-old says.

"I have been to three finals since I have been here, lost them all and I am desperate to put that right. It's a memory you never forget. You are proud to have played in the European Cup final but you don't go there to lose. I have loved every minute of my time at



▲ James Milner holds Bayern Munich's Serge Gnabry at bay  
LARS BARON/GETTY IMAGES

Liverpool but to have not won something when we have given ourselves opportunities is difficult to take.

"It is something I am desperate to put right. It's been so long since we won a league title. Even in recent years Liverpool haven't won as many trophies as they should do for such a big club. We have to put that right. We have to get over the line in one of them."

Georginio Wijnaldum, a fellow midfielder, shares Milner's assessment that defeat by Real Madrid in

last year's Champions League final has increased Liverpool's desire for a sixth European Cup. "We felt what it is to play in a final and the journey was great. We want it again," he said. "At a club like Liverpool you have to win everything possible and you have to play for both: the Premier League and the Champions League. It suits Liverpool to play for both. Look at Manchester City, they are not [just] going for the title or the Champions League. It is a big club - so is Liverpool - so you go for both."

Milner insists Liverpool can improve on the performance that ensured there would be no German club in the last eight of the Champions League for the first time in 13 years. "We have played better games but you could see some of the experience we have gained over the last few years come through," he said. "Sadio [Mané]'s first goal was very naughty. The way he took it was ridiculous but that's the quality he's got."

Milner believes the strength of the Premier League is finally beginning to translate on the European stage, with Manchester City, Manchester United and Tottenham joining Liverpool in



Jürgen Klopp's Liverpool are to be feared in Europe

the quarter-finals. But the prospect of another all-English tie does not excite him.

"We have always had the belief that the Premier League is the best in the world but it has been a top league without that many teams [in the latter stages] of this one," he said. "Every team left are a good side. People will look at Porto and Ajax but they are young teams and they are flying. They deserve to be there and we all know they will be tough teams. To have four teams in the last eight is great for England but I don't particularly want to play any of the others."

"It is always a weird feeling playing an English team in Europe. You get used to getting on a plane and instead you end up getting on a bus and going across the M62. Whoever we get will be tough. But we have shown over the last few years what we can do and hopefully we can keep putting in performances and kick on."

Liverpool's win also dashed Pep Guardiola's hope of seeing Bayern, his former club, in the last eight. "Ah, yes," said Milner, well aware of the City manager's wish. "That's unlucky for him, isn't it?"

## Today's draw

### Draw for quarter- and semi-finals

Draw is open but the Manchester clubs will not be able to play at home on the same night

#### Time

11am GMT, live on BT Sport 2

#### Teams remaining

Ajax, Barcelona, Juventus, Liverpool, Manchester City, Manchester United, Porto, Tottenham

#### Round dates

#### Quarter-finals

9/10 and 16/17

#### April

#### Semi-finals

30 April/1 May

and 7/8 May

#### Final

(Estadio Metropolitano, Madrid)

Saturday 1 June

**'You get used to getting on a plane, instead you get a bus across the M62'**

James Milner  
Liverpool midfielder



# Arsenal become superheroes to overrun Rennes

**Arsenal** 3  
Aubameyang 5 72, Maitland-Niles 15

**Rennes** 0

Arsenal win 4-3 on aggregate

**Amy Lawrence**  
Emirates Stadium

It was a night when Arsenal required superhuman effort and some heroic performances to overturn a two-goal handicap and seize their ticket for the Europa League quarter-finals. An accomplished team performance was crowned by the moment Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang scored their third goal and relished the moment with a spot of dressing up. His chosen character, embellished by the mask that had been waiting in the goal, was Black Panther. His teammates huddled round him relishing another important moment in what has felt like a pivotal week.

Aubameyang, it is worth remembering, was ineligible for the Europa League last season, having signed from Borussia Dortmund in January, but his effervescent display led the necessary charge to see Arsenal through this time.

Unai Emery's record as a Europa League specialist meant he was not short of what he described as "similar" experiences in terms of the need to engineer a second-leg comeback. He loaded up the attack, trusting all his most-experienced players in the front half of the team as he had in the victory against Manchester United on Sunday.

Emery had called for the Arsenal fans to come together with the team to

create a hot atmosphere and no sooner had the game kicked off than the Emirates was filling with smoke and raucous noise. It happened to come from the Clock End, which housed the boisterous travelling party of 5,000 Rennes supporters. A flurry of scarlet flares were ignited in the opening minute, cranking up the temperature.

The mood soared another few notches as Arsenal broke early to help themselves to a goal. They moved smoothly down the right, Aubameyang backheeling the ball towards Ainsley Maitland-Niles, who was able to find Aaron Ramsey in the box. The Welshman's cross was stabbed in by Aubameyang. Arsenal's taste for the task in hand felt suddenly sharper.

Rennes had been, understandably, perplexed by the news on Tuesday that Alexandre Lacazette was available, having had a three-match ban reduced on appeal. But before they had even had the chance to get a feel for the temperature of Arsenal's attacking intent, they were badly stretched.

Arsenal pulsed forwards, sending direct balls for their forward players to chase. Aubameyang sped up the right. Sead Kolasinac thundered up the left and sent in a trademark cutback. In the 15th minute another surge deliv-



▲ Unai Emery shows his approval for Arsenal's comeback against Rennes



ered the second goal required to level the tie on aggregate and give Arsenal the away-goal advantage they craved. Aubameyang was again involved, springing to hunt down a ball at the byline, with more than a suspicion of offside. Kolasinac was certainly offside but tried to stay inactive. Aubameyang pressed on. Amid the brief, confused pause as the Rennes defence hoped for a refereeing intervention, the Gabon forward kept his focus to loft a cross towards the far post where Maitland-Niles ghosted in to plant his header past Tomas Koubek.

The scale of the 3-1 loss at the Roazhon Park last Thursday set Arsenal that tough task of needing to ensure they balance out their search for goals with firm resilience. Now it

was interesting, as Emery's team had what they needed to go through with 75 minutes still to play. They knew the visitors possessed the quality to score an away goal to change the complexion, to reapply pressure. Their coach Julien Stéphan had spoken of his ambition to score and his players endeavoured regain a foothold.

After the shellshock of a shuddering opening, the game became niggly. Cool heads were needed and Arsenal tried to prise their opponents open again. Özil floated in a cross and Aubameyang took aim with a bicycle kick only to slice it.

Rennes emerged after half-time with emboldened resolve. Pressing higher up the pitch and with more intent, M'Baye Niang fizzed a

shot against the post after Shkodran Mustafi dallied and lost possession.

Not only were the Ligue 1 team trying to unsettle Arsenal with their play, they were also trying to disrupt with theatrical episodes whenever they felt they could appeal for anything that might resemble a foul, and putting pressure on the Latvian officials. The

Arsenal	Rennes
3-5-2	4-4-2
Cech; Mustafi, Koscielny, Monreal; Maitland-Niles, Ramsey (Torreira 87), Khaka, Kolasinac; Özil (Mkhitaryan 70); Lacazette (Iwobi 70), Aubameyang	Koubek; Traoré, Da Silva, Sotoca, Bensebaini; Bourigeaud, André (Lea Siliki 79), Grenier (Hunou 70), Sarr; Ben Arfa, Niang
Subs not used: Leno, Suárez, Guendouzi, Nketiah	Subs not used: Badiashile, Zeffane, Doumbia, Del Castillo, Gelin
Referee Andris Treimanis (Lat)	

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Ainsley Maitland-Niles outjumps the Rennes defence for Arsenal's second goal, on their way to a 3-0 win NICK POTTS/PA



game was teetering on the edge of control, with both teams sensing another goal could be critical. Emotions ran high. Rennes broke dangerously down the right as Niang teed up Ismaila Sarr, and when Kolassinac slid in with a perfect block tackle he leapt up to his feet with a primal roar.

Emery brought on fresh legs and one of them, Henrikh Mkhitaryan, made an instant impact as he drove Arsenal forward en route to a third goal of the night. After a couple of one-two's he spotted Kolassinac bombing forward. A driven cross was prodded home by Aubameyang, who celebrated with the mask he had been promising for the last couple of games. He was not confident enough to wear it for 1-0, but 3-0 felt emphatic enough.

# Giroud's hat-trick puts icing on Chelsea cake

Dynamo Kyiv	0
Chelsea	5
Giroud 5 33 59, Alonso 45, Hudson-Odoi 78	
Chelsea win 8-0 on aggregate	
Dominic Fifield	
Olympiyskiy Stadium	

This ended up more like a bye into the Europa League quarter-finals than the perilous encounter Maurizio Sarri had rather warily foreseen. Chelsea barely broke into a sweat in dismissing a desperately naive Dynamo Kyiv, with the uneven playing surface probably representing more of a threat than over-awed opponents.

The occasion lacked a competitive edge, though given Chelsea's toils over recent months Sarri will have welcomed such a stroll. His team feel like contenders in a competition that carries the considerable prize of Champions League qualification. Their younger players are making their mark at this level, while Chelsea have the Europa League's leading scorer in Olivier Giroud, a World Cup winner reduced to bench-warmer status in the Premier League.

The striker has managed less than an hour of top-flight football this year but celebrated a perfect hat-trick (both feet and a header) to swell his goal tally in Europe to nine in nine games. "He was very, very good," Sarri said. "But, in the last period, every time he has been on the pitch he was able to play really very well. Olivier for us is a very important player. I'm really very happy for him."

There were other positives, too. Callum Hudson-Odoi, on his seventh start, contributed to Chelsea's third goal with a neatly worked assist and slid in his fourth Europa League goal this season near the end after sprinting on to Giroud's pass. Marcos Alonso

revelled in a match away from Premier League right-wingers, the Spaniard scoring one goal, assisting in another and seeing a free-kick tipped gloriously on to the angle of post and bar by the overworked Denys Boyko. The left-back returns with confidence bolstered.

Yet arguably most encouraging of all was the contribution of Ruben Loftus-Cheek. The 23-year-old has had such an anticlimactic campaign after the progress made on loan at Crystal Palace last season and with England at the World Cup. He has been hampered by recurring back problems and Sarri's scepticism over his defensive capabilities, and may be fortunate to be retained in Gareth Southgate's squad for the Euro 2020 qualifiers. Yet, with yoga alleviating some of the muscular complaints, this was him at his best: all power in possession, strength on the ball and deceptive pace.

When at his best, Loftus-Cheek

adds a new dimension to this team's midfield. "The potential of Loftus-Cheek is very high, physically and technically, but he is also improving tactically," Sarri said. "He can become one of the best midfielders not only in England but in Europe."

"Callum also played very well, better in the second half, because we found the spaces and Callum in the spaces is really a very good player. I'm happy for him but he has to keep the feet on the ground because he, too, can improve more."

Dynamo found the youth-team graduates, like Chelsea as a whole, irresistible. They managed their first attempt on target across the two legs after 141 minutes and, even if Serhiy Sydorchuk did strike a post, it was hard to fathom how they could have lost only two of 14 previous home games in European competition, so easily had they been prised apart.

Alyaksandr Khatskevich was asked if he would consider his position after this thrashing. The manager declined to respond.

His team had been deflated early, dozing at Chelsea's first corner as Loftus-Cheek flicked on Willian's delivery and Giroud converted left-footed at the far post. Loftus-Cheek contrib-

uted in the buildup to Giroud's second, too, spinning away impressively from Sydorchuk before spreading the play to Alonso. The Spaniard's centre was wonderfully weighted and placed, bypassing the Dynamo rearguard for Giroud to dart between centre-halves and convert with his right.

The first away hat-trick by a Chelsea player in continental competition since Didier Drogba at Levski Sofia in 2006 was completed with a header guided beyond Boyko from Willian's free-kick just before the hour.

Not content with that, Giroud played a part in the team's third, his pass sending Hudson-Odoi to the byline, with the youngster's cross converted by Alonso. The Frenchman also slid Hudson-Odoi free to secure Chelsea's biggest Europa League win near the end.

Dynamo Kyiv	Chelsea
4-2-3-1	4-3-3
Boyko; Kedziora, Burda, Kadar, Mykolenko; Sydorchuk (Tchê Tchê 65), Shepelev (Andrievsky 87); Tsygankov, Shaparenko, Sidcley (Smyrnyi 81); Garmash	Arrizabalaga; Zappacosta (Azpilicueta 69), Rüdiger, Christensen, Alonso; Kanté (Jorginho 65), Kovacic, Loftus-Cheek; Willian (Pedro 74), Giroud, Hudson-Odoi
Subs not used	Subs not used
Bushchan, Bueno, Shabanov, Alibekov	Caballero, Barkley, Hazard, David Luiz
Referee Tobias Stieler (Ger) Attendance 64,830	



◀ Olivier Giroud heads home his hat-trick goal against Dynamo Kyiv MICHAEL ZEMANEK/BPI/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

## Football In brief

### Discipline

## Birmingham and Arsenal charged

Birmingham have been charged with failing to ensure their fans conducted themselves in an orderly fashion during the Championship match against Aston Villa. The midfielder Jack Grealish was punched by a Birmingham fan during Villa's 1-0 victory at St Andrew's on Sunday. The FA statement read: "Birmingham City has been charged with breaches of FA rule E20 (a) and (b). It is alleged the club failed to ensure that its spectator[s] conducted themselves in an orderly fashion; refrained from improper or violent conduct and refrained from encroaching on to the pitch during the EFL Championship fixture against Aston Villa." Arsenal

have also been charged in connection with an incident in which a spectator ran on to the pitch and confronted Chris Smalling during the home match against Manchester United. PA

### West Ham

## Injury looks set to end Carroll's seven-year stay

Andy Carroll looks to have played his final game for West Ham after another injury setback. The striker has been missing from the squad for the last two matches with an ankle problem. The 30-year-old will be out of contract in the summer and, having started only three Premier League games this season, is not expected to be offered a new one. "Andy Carroll has an ankle problem," Manuel Pellegrini said. "How serious we don't know." Carroll joined from Liverpool in 2012, initially on loan before agreeing a £15m move on a six-year contract. In that time he has started 84 Premier League matches out of a possible 266. PA

## Results

### Football

FA WOMEN'S SUPER LEAGUE									
	P	W	D	L	F	A	GD	Pts	
Manchester City	17	12	5	0	49	14	+35	41	
Arsenal	15	13	0	2	57	11	+46	39	
Chelsea	17	10	5	2	34	11	+23	35	
Birmingham	15	9	1	5	20	14	+6	28	
Bristol City	16	6	4	6	13	26	-13	22	
West Ham	16	6	1	9	21	29	-8	19	
Reading	15	5	3	7	22	24	-2	18	
Liverpool	15	5	1	9	11	26	-15	16	
Brighton	17	3	4	10	12	33	-21	13	
Everton	14	2	3	9	9	26	-17	9	
Yeovil	15	1	1	13	9	43	-34	4	
Arsenal	(1) 4	Bristol City				(0) 0			
Miedema 11 59 79 McCabe 76									
UEFA EUROPA LEAGUE									
Last 16: Second leg									
Arsenal	(2) 3	Rennes				(0) 0			
Aubameyang 5 72 Maitland-Niles 15 (4-3 on agg)									
Benfica	(0) 1	Dinamo Zagreb				(0) 1			
Jonas 71 (1-1 on agg; score after 90min)									
Dynamo Kyiv	(0) 0	Chelsea				(3) 5			
(0-8 on agg) 64,830 Giroud 5 33 59, Alonso 45 Hudson-Odoi 78									
Internazionale	(0) 0	Eintracht Frankfurt				(1) 1			
(0-1 on agg) Jovic 6									

Krasnodar	(0) 1	Valencia	(0) 1
Suleymanov 85 (agg 2-3)		Guedes 90 35,074	
Red Bull Salzburg	(1) 3	Napoli	(1) 1
Dabbur 25 Gulbrandsen 65, Leitgeb 90	(agg 3-4)	Milik 14 (agg 3-4)	29,520
Slavia Prague	(1) 2	Sevilla	(1) 2
Ngadeu-Ngadjui 15 Soucek 47pen		Ben Yedder 44pen El Haddadi 54	
(score after 90min; 4-4 on agg)			
Villarreal	(1) 2	Zenit St Petersburg	(0) 1
Moreno 29 Bacca 47		Ivanovic 90 (5-2 on agg)	
Rugby league			
BETFRED SUPER LEAGUE			
Huddersfield 12 St Helens 40			
Racing			
CHELTENHAM			
1.30 (2m 3f 168yds): 1 Defi Du Seuil (3-1 Fav), BJ Geraghty (P J Hobbs); 2 Lostintranslation (4-1); 3 Mengli Khan (9-1). 2½, 7, 3, ns, 6. 10 ran.			
2.10 (2m 7f 213yds): 1 Sire Du Berlais (4-1 Fav), BJ Geraghty (G Elliott); 2 Tobefair (40-1); 3 Not Many Left (16-1); 4 Cuneo (12-1). nk, 1¼, 2, 4½, 1¼. 24 ran.			
2.50 (2m 4f 127yds): 1 Frodon (9-2), Bryony Frost (PF Nicholls); 2 Aso (33-1); 3 Road To Respect (9-2). 7-2 Fav Footpad. 1¼, 1¾, 2¼, 3¼, 5, 12 ran.			
3.30 (2m 7f 213yds): 1 Paisley Park (11-8 Fav), Aidan Coleman (Miss EC Lavelle); 2 Sam Spinner (33-1); 3 Faughen (4-1). 2¾, 4, 1¼, 11, 3½, 18 ran.			
4.10 (2m 4f 127yds): 1 Siruh Du Lac (9-2), Lizzie Kelly (Nick Williams); 2 Janika (3-1 Fav); 3 Spiritofthegames (6-1); 4 Eamon An Cnoic (10-1). ¾, 2¼, ½, 8, 2½. 22 ran.			
NR: Ballyhill, Romain De Senam.			
4.50 (2m 179yds): 1 Eglantine Du Seuil (50-1), ND Fehily (WP Mullins); 2 Concertista (66-1); 3 Tintangle (40-1). 15-8 Fav Epatante. shd, 1¾, hd, ¾, hd. 22 ran. 5.30 (3m 2f): 1 Any Second Now (6-1), Mr D O'Connor (TM Walsh); 2 Kilflum Cross (7-1); 3 The Young Master (22-1); 4 Crievehill (40-1). 3-1 Fav Measureofmydreams. 3¼, 3½, 5, 2¼, ¾. 23 ran.			

### Tennis

ATP/WTA INDIAN WELLS MASTERS (California)  
Men: Fourth round: M Kecmanovic (Ser) bt Y Nishioka (Jpn) 6-4 0-0 ret; R Nadal (Sp) bt F Krajinovic (Ser) 6-3 6-4; M Raonic (Can) bt J-L Struff (Ger) 6-4 6-3; H Hurkacz (Pol) bt D Shapovalov (Can) 7-6 (3) 2-6 6-3; R Federer (Swi) bt K Edmund (GB) 6-1 6-4; K Khachanov (Rus) bt J Isner (US) 6-4 7-6 (7-1); D Thiem (Aut) bt I Karlovic (Cro) 6-4 6-3; G Monfils (Fr) bt P Kohlschreiber (Ger) 6-0 6-2  
Women: Quarter-finals: B Andreescu (Can) bt G Muguruza (Sp) 6-0 6-1; E Svitolina (Ukr) bt M Vondrousova (Cz) 4-6 6-4 6-4; B Bencic (Swi) bt K Pliskova (Cz) 6-3 4-6 6-3

### Cycling

PARIS-NICE  
Stage five (time trial; 25.5km) 1 S Yates (GB) Mitchelton-Scott 30min 26sec; 2 N Politt (Ger) Katusha-Alpecin +0:07sec; 3 M Kwiatkowski (Pol) Sky +0:11.  
Overall standings: 1 M Kwiatkowski (Pol) Sky 17hr 23min; 2 E Bernal (Col) Sky +0:19sec; 3 LL Sánchez (Sp) Astana +0:28  
Fixtures  
Football  
Sky Bet League One  
Doncaster v Barnsley (7.45pm)  
Sky Bet League Two  
Newport County v Cheltenham (7.45pm)  
Ladbrokes Scottish Championship  
Inverness CT v Ross County (7.05pm)  
Rugby union  
Guinness U20 Six Nations  
England v Scotland (7.45pm); Italy v France (6pm); Wales v Ireland (7.05pm)  
Rugby league  
Betfred Super League  
Hull v Wakefield (7.45pm); Leeds v London Broncos (7.45pm); Warrington v Wigan (7.45pm)  
Cricket  
Test Match (first day of five)  
Dehra Dun Afghanistan v Ireland (4.30am)  
Third Test Match (first day of five)  
Christchurch New Zealand v Bangladesh (10pm)



# Europa League



No masking  
Arsenal's talent  
as Aubameyang  
leads thrilling  
comeback

Pages 50-51 →

Chelsea progress  
after Giroud  
tucks into Kyiv



The Guardian  
Friday 15 March 2019



# Sport

Scholes resigns  
at Oldham after  
31 days in charge

Page 49 →



**'I see a  
tired team'**  
Jones puts  
pressure  
on Gatland

Robert Kitson

Warren Gatland has told Eddie Jones to mind his own business after the England coach said Wales looked "tired" before their Six Nations decider with Ireland in Cardiff. Jones also believes the Irish are "peaking" at the right time and says Scotland can expect "a bit of an explosion" from an England team still hoping to claim the title.

The final weekend hardly needs extra hype as an unchanged Wales seek to win a third Grand Slam in 11 years but, with England needing Ireland to do them a favour, Jones has queried whether Gatland's side have enough in the tank to complete a clean sweep. "I'm just saying what I see, mate," he said. "I see a team that's looking tired; I see an Ireland team that's peaking."

"Wales are a very good team. They are very well coached and great credit to them for what they have done, but it's a tough tournament and you can see they're getting tired. They have made more tackles than anyone else in the tournament and they're playing against an Ireland side that seems to be peaking at the right time."

"Guys like Conor Murray, Johnny Sexton, Garry Ringrose and Peter O'Mahony weren't in great form at the start of the tournament but they look like they've got their mojo back. I'm sure the crowd will help Wales overcome that tiredness but its going to be a great game."

Jones's assessment appears based on Wales's attritional second half in Murrayfield, where they had to withstand a concerted Scotland fightback. Gatland, for one, believes England should be focusing on their own issues rather than querying Wales's title credentials. "What the hell is Eddie Jones doing talking about our game? If it was me, I'd be concentrating on playing Scotland. If you look at the stats, England have made a hell of a lot more tackles than us in this tournament. My advice to Eddie is to concentrate on the Scotland match."

The stats do indeed sug-

**Frost's magical moment**  
Fabulous Frodon creates  
history at Cheltenham

Pages 44-45 →



▲ Bryony Frost and Frodon celebrate after winning the Ryanair Chase while, left, Lizzie Kelly also enjoyed success  
TOM JENKINS/THE GUARDIAN



Capitalism is stealing the future from young people *George Monbiot, page 4*

Comic Relief and 'white saviours' *Amanda Khozi Mukwashi, page 4*

Casinos to cannabis: Native Americans' new deal *The long read, page 9*

**G2**  
Daily  
pullout  
life &  
culture  
section  
*Inside*

The Guardian **Friday 15 March 2019**

Opinion  
and ideas

# Journal

## There's now only one way to end the deadlock: compromise

The Brexit chasm has seemed unbridgeable. No path has appeared to guide us out of the impasse. Last night a glimmer of an escape route came into view. Parliament decided to ask the European Union to postpone Brexit day.

**Simon  
Jenkins**



It asked for this phase to be extended, probably for three months. It did so, shamelessly, because it could not agree on what on earth to do next. The EU, reasonably, asks why. If the UK could not decide on Brexit in two and a half years, what difference will three months make? The answer is that Theresa May is refusing to give up on her red lines and her frantic efforts to appease the rightwing of her party. Yet her deal has not so far pleased them, and it has now gone down to defeat twice, by huge margins. Astonishingly, she wants to try one more time next Tuesday.

May hopes that she can bully, bribe or even persuade a few more of her Tory MPs to change their minds. Even if she wins over the DUP, this is near inconceivable. I attended the anti-Brexit Bruges Group rally last Monday, and can report that these people will never support her deal. They would no more strike a bargain with Brussels than vote that the Earth is round.

Even if May wins, she will return to Brussels an unstable leader. She has an insecure majority, an undisciplined cabinet and an alienated opposition. She could hardly go forward into the final negotiating phase on that basis. Her "opening to the right" two years ago has been as disastrous to herself as to the country, as are all such attempts to govern in a democracy from

the extremes. Last night, the Commons came within two votes of seizing control of the Brexit process from Downing Street. The price May had to pay to secure her narrow win was to agree that, if she loses again on Tuesday, there will be time set aside to debate how the house wishes to honour Britain's commitment to withdraw from the EU, given that by then it will have vetoed both her deal and no deal. In other words, parliament will have an opportunity to cohere round an alternative to crashing out of the EU without any deal at all. It remains astonishing that it has taken so long for this pathetic Commons to come near such an initiative.

The question for May will be: can she still keep hold of the process? She really must accept that her red lines and the appeasement of her rightwing have failed to pass muster. She must be ready to allow her chancellor, Philip Hammond, to live up to his remarks on Wednesday favouring a cross-party compromise. This means he must join in serious talks with his Labour shadow, John McDonnell, and with Jeremy Corbyn, both of whom have clearly indicated a willingness to seek an alternative Brexit deal.

That alternative is now clear, not least since the Commons last night rejected a






# 2

## There’s now only one way to end the deadlock: compromise

### Simon Jenkins

← Continued from front

 second referendum. That option would have breached faith with the 2016 vote. It would have repolarised debate and been a gift to Brexit fanatics. The time for a second referendum is way down the line, possibly to confirm a final, permanent deal.

The sensible compromise is clear: soft Brexit. It is variously codenamed common market 2.0, or Norway, or customs union, or EEA. Under it, Britain leaves the EU but remains in Europe’s wider economic zone. Such an off-the-shelf package is known to be acceptable to Brussels. It respects the pleas of industry and commerce not to wreck Britain’s continental trade for pie-in-the-sky “deals with the rest of the world”.

A customs union (plus or minus) would resolve the insoluble Irish border issue. It would avoid a tariff at Dover and save British farming its present horrors. The single market would also avert the absurdity of replacing Polish workers with those from halfway around the world.

Soft Brexit may not please everyone, but it is now the nearest to a Brexit common denominator. The essence of compromise is to find a way through intransigences. This is politics, not a war of religions. If May refuses to authorise cross-party talks – thus giving Brussels a reason to agree a delay – she has no alternative. Britain crashes out of the EU in two weeks’ time. No-deal Brexit scare stories may have been overstated, but crashing out would devastate the jobs and futures of tens of thousands of people, and hugely disrupt the economy.

The best news on Wednesday was ostensibly the worst, the crumbling of discipline within May’s cabinet. It must make sense for Hammond and dissident colleagues such as Amber Rudd and Greg Clark to find common cause with the backbenchers Sir Oliver Letwin, Nick Boles and Dominic Grieve. It must be sensible for them to collude with Labour’s Corbyn and McDonnell as well the backbenchers Yvette Cooper and Stephen Kinnock. Just now, they are the regiment of the sane.

So far, the Commons has glaringly lacked either the competence or the chemistry to fashion compromise. It is good at feuding, twisting, turning and postponing. It can kick cans down the road all night, but it cannot decide. This week, as a nation screamed for compromise, it had to witness a burlesque of ranting backbenchers, helpless ministers, “incandescent” whips and negative vote after negative vote, none to any constructive purpose. On the BBC’s Newsnight on Wednesday, all four sides – there now seem to be four – ended up shouting incoherently together as the curtain closed on them. A national emergency reduced to pantomime.

Britain’s Commons can never again trumpet itself as the “mother of parliaments”. It is more an old bag lady mumbling oaths on a street corner. The reason is that it is still enacting procedures designed for the polarised tribalism of the 18th century. It ritualises partisanship and disagreement. It dares not unite. This is how nations drift to war. Their leaders strut the corridors of power, puffing up their chests and calling down the wrath of gods on their foes. Verbal knives outnumber handshakes.

It is no longer only May and her deal that are on trial. So too is the House of Commons, and whether it is any longer a useful adjunct to responsible government. When Britain is out of this mess, parliament must reform. It should use its impending exile from the Palace of Westminster to galvanise its future as a legislature. It should leave London for a while and immerse itself in the provinces. It should find a voting system that better reflects popular opinion. The bloated House of Lords should be replaced. A fairer balance is needed between England and the UK’s other nations.

Only then will this farrago have served some purpose. As it is, Britain must this weekend await enough MPs with the guts to cross the bridge of compromise. Nothing else will do.

# The Guardian

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*‘Comment is free... but facts are sacred’* CP Scott

## EU

## MPs must use a Brexit delay to let reason and reality back into the debate

For nearly two years, Britain has known when it is supposed to leave the EU. Its politics have been consumed by the question of how. There has been less exploration of why. The simplest answer is that a majority voted to do so and that their preference should, on democratic principle, be respected. But when the government has failed to find a safe Brexit path, to proceed regardless of the consequences is to risk being wantonly destructive. Just such a point of failure has been reached. A vote by MPs last night recognising the need to delay the 29 March departure date proves it. But there is no more clarity about the purpose of such an extension than there is about the ultimate goals of Brexit itself.

An amendment calling for another referendum was soundly beaten. That cannot be the end of the idea. Labour abstained, with many of its MPs supporting a public vote in principle but believing the question had been put prematurely. Such tactics aside, a clear majority of MPs are currently committed to quitting the EU. Sadly, intent alone doesn’t bring practical solutions closer. The 2016 result described an action – leave – but not a motive. Theresa May has her own interpretation of what 17.4 million voters had in mind, but her view isn’t canonical. Politicians see public opinion through their chosen lens. For Mrs May it is immigration control. For others it is deregulation or the power to sign trade deals. Those are priorities for some voters, but none deserves sanctification as the “will of the people”.

The impossible demand for a Brexit to satisfy that abstraction is a significant cause of the present crisis. It makes it harder to turn a one-off vote into a legitimate settlement of the UK’s relations with the EU. Remain voters are also people with a will. MPs represent people with competing wills in their constituencies. The Commons has to turn a superficially simple concept –

ending EU membership – into a treaty with multiple, complex implications for Britain’s relations with the rest of the world. Sadly, a cross-party plan that would have allowed MPs to seize control of the agenda was narrowly defeated last night – by two votes. That leaves Mrs May still notionally in charge of Brexit, determined to keep testing parliament’s view of her ailing deal. That is a dismal prospect even with the partial safety net of an article 50 extension.

The whole Brexit question needs reframing around the actual relationship between the UK and the EU – the facts of what it means to be a leading member of a powerful global alliance and what relinquishing that status entails, as distinct from nationalistic myths of dissolved sovereignty. A systematic failure of Mrs May’s approach has been to negotiate first with her own party, which is steeped in a culture of paranoid Euroscepticism, and only then present the results of that discussion as unrealistic demands in Brussels. That route guaranteed disappointment and amplified differences between Britain and its neighbours, when the future relationship has to be founded in recognition of commonalities.

It is feasible that MPs will yet nudge Mrs May’s withdrawal agreement over the finish line, but if so, that will only be the end of the beginning of Brexit. It starts to describe how it might be done. But there will still be mysteries unsolved: how are Britain’s interests served by Brexit; what are the costs in exchanging privileges afforded to a leading EU member for the diminished position of former member; what, in the most profound strategic, cultural and economic terms, is the point?

Mrs May came to office unequipped with answers to those questions. She then went looking for them in the wrong place, on her party’s rightmost fringe. She has squandered the whole of the available negotiating period and made extension essential. But additional time is of limited value if it is not used differently. Parliament must restart the Brexit debate. The options cannot be limited by ideological extrapolations of a mystical “will of the people” from the result in June 2016. The task is to use evidence, examine facts, heed voices on all sides, and settle on a relationship with EU institutions that realistically reflects the interests of the whole country.

## Northern Ireland

## The Bloody Sunday prosecution comes late, but is still necessary

It is now approaching half a century since Bloody Sunday, when British troops fired on civil rights demonstrators in Derry. The killings not only left families distraught but, as the brother of one victim observed yesterday, deepened and widened the conflict in Northern Ireland. The Widgery tribunal of the same year compounded anger. It took more than 25 years, and the peace process, for the British government to commission another inquiry. In 2010 Lord Saville finally delivered his devastating report. A lengthy police inquiry followed.

Now one former paratrooper is to stand trial for the murder of two men, and attempted murder of four more. Prosecutors concluded that there was insufficient evidence to provide a reasonable prospect of convicting other suspects on similar charges, though some may yet face perjury cases.

The British state has a long and dishonourable tradition of denying its wrongs and, when that becomes unsustainable, delaying facing the issue for as long as possible. The passage of so many years has inevitably had its impact upon the process of justice – witnesses and soldiers present on Bloody Sunday have died, as have some of the bereaved. Relatives are profoundly disappointed that only one person is to be charged,

despite their relief that there are charges at all, and will probably challenge the decision not to pursue other cases.

Their distress and anger has been fuelled by the carelessness, ignorance and crassness of British ministers – all the more alarming given the stresses that Brexit imposes upon a hard-won peace. Last week the Northern Ireland secretary, Karen Bradley, had to apologise for saying killings by security forces were “not crimes” and were carried out by people “fulfilling their duties in a dignified and appropriate way”.

The defence secretary’s response to this prosecution has been insensitive in the extreme. Gavin Williamson made no mention of the victims or families in his statement. He went on to say that the government is working on safeguards to ensure the armed forces are not unfairly treated and will “urgently reform the system for dealing with legacy issues. Our serving and former personnel cannot live in constant fear of prosecution.” A 10-year statute of limitations has been mooted.

The implications with regard to Iraq and Afghanistan are obvious. So is the message it would send to personnel in operations yet to come. That the state upholds the law, and especially that it addresses its own breaches, is not less but more important in highly charged contexts or full-scale conflicts. If it fails to do so promptly and transparently, it must address that too. To tackle old wrongs helps to rebuild trust and strengthen communities today. It also prevents future wrongs by reminding troops and those who command them of their responsibilities. This prosecution is both important and necessary.



# Opinion *Youth climate strike*

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**Bruno Rodriguez and Eyal Weintraub**

## Young activists around the world: why I'm striking today

### **Brianna Fruean, 20, Samoa**

I started my activism quite young - at 11. That was when I first heard about this thing called climate change. As a young girl in Samoa, a small island in the south Pacific, hearing the implications it had for my island scared me and jumpstarted my passion to do something about it.

I feel like the young people of the Pacific are now experiencing what young people around the world will experience tomorrow. Right now, along with a lot of other vulnerable communities around the world, we're having cyclones, floods and droughts. And it's going to be that - and worse - for future generations.

It's great to see young people being passionate and not backing down to older people saying: "You should be in school." Real education sometimes happens outside the classroom. I think the school climate strikes have proved that. I learned about hope and solidarity outside the classroom. All my friends know about Greta Thunberg, who has stayed strong and hasn't backed down. I really think that she is going to do great things for this generation. It's that solidarity that keeps you optimistic. And feeling that you have a team, that you're not alone, that we're all in this together. It's not just one person yelling from outside the UN building or our parliament. And where there are mass numbers, there's power. Our slogan is: "We're not drowning. We're fighting."

### **Lovina, 15, and Delema Janvier, 17, Alberta, Canada**

We strike for the Earth, to protect and save it from what the human race has done. As indigenous youths we have a close connection to the Earth. We know that without it we have nothing, we are nothing. Our community is directly affected by the Cold Lake oil sands, which is a large deposit of tar sands. Some of the tar sands can be extracted through drilling, which is incredibly dangerous to land, animals and people, and affects the water and air quality in negative ways. We must think of the future



**Lovina and Delema Janvier**

generations: what we do today, tomorrow and the next day will impact the next seven generations. We must change our ways from burning natural resources, from releasing so much carbon, from poisoning what we need to live. We cannot survive by drinking oil.

### **Harshini Dhara, 15, Hyderabad, India**

For as long as I can remember, I have heard climate change talked about at home. The phenomenon scares me and leaves my future uncertain. Many of our country's rivers are snow-fed. Due to the melting of glaciers, the rivers of northern India will initially carry flood waters, but as their source of water continuously depletes, they will carry less water, and shortages may lead to conflict between people.

On a personal level, there were no rains on our farm last year so we couldn't cultivate any crops. A few things can be done by children of my age to hopefully secure our future. We can encourage the planting of more trees and use public transport as far as possible to reduce our emissions. I feel that a subject so serious should be introduced to children at school, and teachers and children should openly talk about it - and the adverse effects of climate change should be shown to children by taking them on field trips.

### **Eyal Weintraub, 18, and Bruno Rodriguez, 18, Argentina**

We saw a call to action circulating on social media, encouraging youth to stand up and fight against the indifference of governments and the criminal behaviour of contaminating corporations. What we needed to do was clear. We decided to organise a protest in front of our national congress in Buenos Aires.

The most extraordinary aspect of this movement is realising the unlimited potential of our generation. We have reached a point in history when we have the technical capacities to solve poverty, malnutrition, inequality and of course global warming. The deciding factors for whether we take advantage of our potential will be our activism, our international unity and our ability to develop the art of making the impossible possible. Whether we succeed or not depends on our political will.

### **Vidit Baya, 17, Udaipur, India**

In the winter of 2018 I went to march on the streets of Melbourne with a group of amazing, diverse people of all ages to urge the Australian government to take action against climate change. When I came back to India, I started an organisation called No Borders and wrote an article regarding climate change here in India that was quite popular among my schoolmates and teachers. Then there was no stopping us.

Today, young people from all over India will strike for a sustainable future. We will tell our politicians that our lives are more important than the economy. You talk about jobs and better living conditions when you yourself are not ready to change for a sustainable future. We want global leaders to declare a climate emergency. If we don't act today, then we will have no tomorrow. Adults have given us an ailing planet - and it is now up to us to understand that, and to turn the ailing planet into heaven again.

### **Zel Whiting, 13, Australia**

In October 2018, I helped organise a strike in my hometown. Initially my goal was to help bring attention to the plight of our living planet. But after the climate strike got public attention, politicians began attempting to discredit us, rather than addressing the reason for our protest. It then became clear to me that our leaders are too corrupted by the corporate world to address the most threatening issue to humanity. They are incapable of accepting that clever accounting is not a solution.

The school strike is merely the final alarm for people to wake up and have a good hard look at what has been happening. Sure, listen - but listen critically. Listen to the language our leaders are using to downplay what is happening and then go and read the science, and look at things. Take a good hard look.

I don't blame all adults: the truth has been kept from them. But we now know what's happening and the next logical step is for governments at every level to declare a state of climate emergency so that immediate action can be taken to prevent catastrophic outcomes.

### **Kaisanan Ahuan, Puli City, Taiwan**

I am from the Central Taiwan Plains Indigenous People. As the indigenous people of Taiwan, we have a particular vulnerability to climate change. Our traditional culture is deeply rooted in the harmony we have with the spirit of nature. We face heartbreaking loss due to increasingly extreme weather events. We urge the Taiwanese government to implement mitigation measures and face up to the vulnerability of indigenous people, halt construction projects in the indigenous traditional realm, and recognise the legal status of Plains Indigenous People, in order to implement environmental protection as a bottom-up approach.

### **Mone Fousseny, 22, Mali**

My awareness about climate change goes back a long way: my uncle was a farmer and taught me about the beauty and fragility of nature. Over time, as the torrential rains became more and more frequent, and led to floods, I saw the balance of nature change, and it is quite natural that I wanted to engage. The damage done by multinationals is enormous: the lack of transparency, dubious contracts, the weakening of the soil, the destruction of flora and fauna, the lack of respect for mining codes, the contamination of groundwater. In Mali, the state exercises insufficient control over the practices of the multinationals, and it is us, the citizens, who suffer the consequences.

I want to tell the people of planet Earth, regardless of race, colour or religion, that we are all concerned and responsible for global warming. The climate alarm has sounded, and the time has come for us all to realise that there is still time to act locally, in our homes, our villages, our cities.

**In the south Pacific we're having cyclones, floods and droughts. And it will get worse**



**Brianna Fruean**



**Zel Whiting**

**Harshini Dhara**

**Vidit Baya**



# Capitalism is stealing the future from young people

**George Monbiot**



**T**he young people taking to the streets for the climate strike are right: their future is being stolen. The economy is an environmental pyramid scheme, dumping its liabilities on the young and the unborn. Its current growth depends on intergenerational theft. At the heart of capitalism is a vast and scarcely examined assumption: you are entitled to as great a share of the world's resources as your money can buy. You can purchase as much land, as much atmospheric space, as many minerals, as much meat and fish as you can afford, regardless of who might be deprived. If you can pay for them, you can own entire mountain ranges and fertile plains. You can burn as much fuel as you like. Every pound or dollar secures a certain right over the world's natural wealth.

But what just principle equates the numbers in your bank account with a right to own the fabric of the Earth? John Locke in 1689 claimed that you acquire a right to own natural wealth by mixing your labour with it: the fruit you pick, the minerals you dig and the land you till become your exclusive property.

This argument was developed by the jurist William Blackstone in the 18th century. He contended that a man's right to "sole and despotic dominion" over land was established by the person who first occupied it, to produce food. This right could then be exchanged for

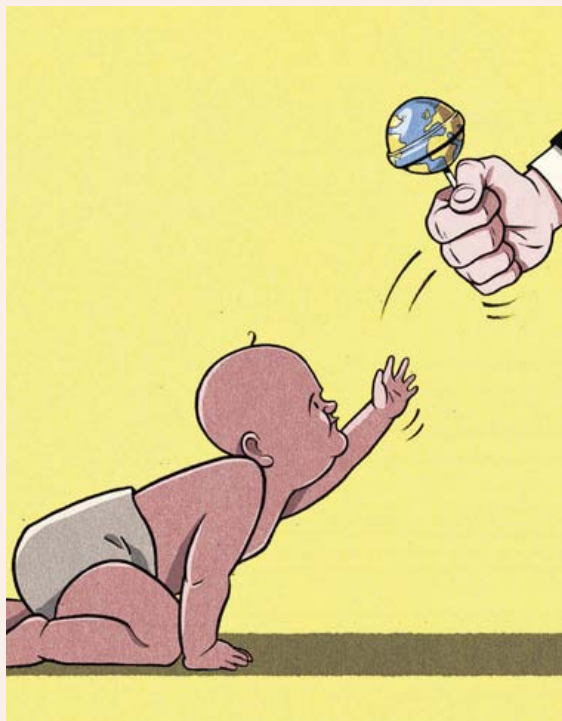


ILLUSTRATION: BEN JENNINGS

money. This is the underlying rationale for the great pyramid scheme. And it makes no sense.

For a start, it assumes a Year Zero. At this arbitrary point, a person could step on to a piece of land, mix their labour with it, and claim it as theirs. Locke used America as an example of the blank slate on which people could establish their rights. But the land (as Blackstone admitted) became a blank slate only through the extermination of those who lived there.

Not only could the colonist erase all prior rights, he could also erase all future rights. By mixing your labour with the land once, you and your descendants acquire the right to it in perpetuity, until you decide to sell it. You thereby prevent all future claimants from gaining natural wealth by the same means.

Worse still, according to Locke, "your" labour includes the labour of those who work for you. But why should the people who do the work not be the ones who acquire the rights? It's comprehensible only when you realise that by "man", Locke means not all humankind, but European men of property. Those who worked for them had no such rights.

Even if objections to this could somehow be dismissed, what is it about labour that magically turns anything it touches into private property? Why not establish your right to natural wealth by peeing on it? The arguments defending our economic system are flimsy. Peel them away, and you see that the whole structure is founded on looting: from other people, from other nations, from other species, and from the future.

Yet, on the grounds of these absurdities, the rich arrogate to themselves the right to buy the natural wealth on which others depend. Locke cautioned that his justification works only if "there is enough, and as good, left in common for others". Today, whether you are talking about land, the atmosphere, living systems, or most other forms of natural wealth, it is clear there is not "enough, and as good" left in common. Everything we take for ourselves we take from someone else.

You can tweak this system. You can seek to modify it. But you cannot make it just.

**S**o what should take its place? It seems to me that the founding principle of any just system is that those who are not yet alive will, when they are born, have the same rights as those who are alive today. The first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". But there is nothing in the declaration insisting that one generation cannot steal from the next. The missing article might look like this: "Every generation shall have an equal right to the enjoyment of natural wealth."

This principle is hard to dispute, but it seems to change everything. Immediately, it tells us that no renewable resource should be used beyond its rate of replenishment. No non-renewable resource should be used that cannot be fully recycled and reused. This leads inexorably to towards two major shifts: a circular economy from which materials are never lost; and the end of fossil fuel combustion.

But what of the Earth itself? In this densely populated world, all land ownership necessarily precludes ownership by others. Article 17 of the Universal Declaration is self-contradictory. It says, "Everyone has the right to own property." But because it places no limit on the amount one person can possess, it ensures that everyone does not have this right. I would change it to: "Everyone has the right to use property without infringing the rights of others to use property." The implication is that everyone born today would acquire an equal right of use, or would need to be compensated for their exclusion. One way of implementing this is through major land taxes, paid into a sovereign wealth fund. It would alter and restrict the concept of ownership, and ensure that economies tended towards distribution, rather than concentration.

I don't have all the answers. But such issues should be the subject of conversations everywhere. Preventing environmental breakdown and systemic collapse means challenging our deepest and least-examined beliefs.

# Comic Relief is good but 'white saviours' don't help Africa

**Amanda Khozi Mukwashi**



**T**onight will see Comic Relief raise millions, which will go towards poverty alleviation around the world. As the chief executive of Christian Aid, there aren't many people more in favour of helping the world's most marginalised groups than me. But as a black African woman, I regularly have to face up to the challenges highlighted in the recent exchange between TV presenter Stacey Dooley and MP David Lammy on the issue of so-called "white saviours".

On the one hand, we know we need people in public life to raise awareness of issues of global injustice. They act as go-betweens, bringing the heartbreaking reality of abject poverty into the homes of ordinary British people and encouraging them to help. On the other hand, there is the knowledge that the way we frame these stories paints some as the saviours and others as those without autonomy and in need of salvation.

In his challenge Lammy raised important questions about how African countries and their people are still perceived and portrayed. We in the aid sector have to face up to our part in perpetuating a tired and one-dimensional picture of Africa - what the author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie calls the danger of a single story. It suggests Africans are helpless and lack agency.

To escape this single story, those working in international development, in the media and in politics must try to reframe the narratives. Yes, there is poverty in Africa - that is precisely why a lot of Christian Aid's work takes place there. But it is false to paint Africa's problems as one-dimensional and simplistic - in need of a hug from a western celebrity to make things better. Not only is this narrative false, but it is also dangerous. Those in Africa - and in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East - who are living in poverty are caught up in much bigger systemic issues. The challenge for us is to tackle the global economic systems that increase inequality and injustice. Because poverty is political. It is not an accident. And there is no easy solution.

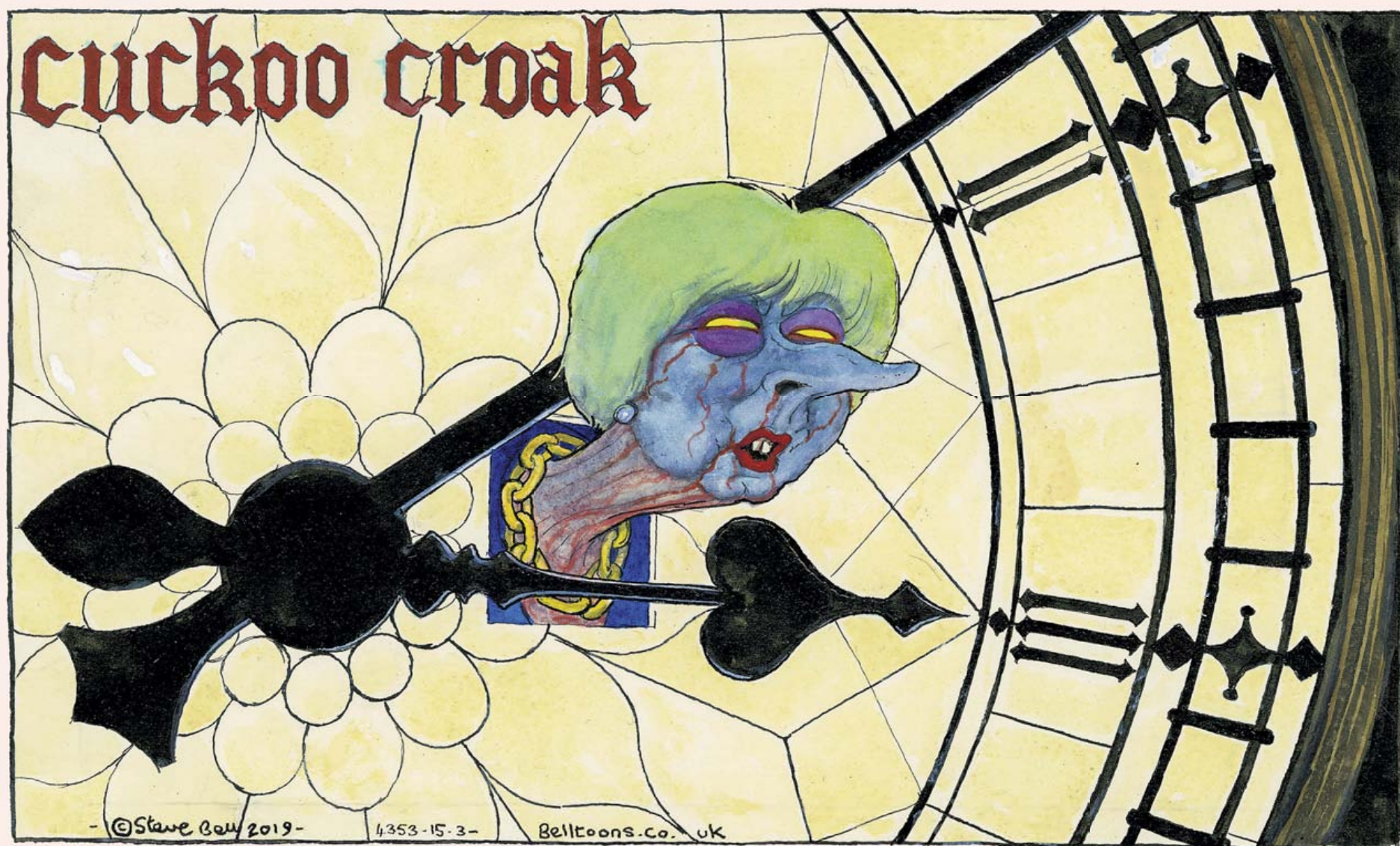
The problem with the white saviour narrative is that it echoes colonialism. Colonialism is not a distant crime of our ancestors, but the genesis of our global structures that ensure the interests of economic growth in the north are prioritised over the lives of those who are powerless, poorer and usually darker.

Of course, I recognise that my own organisation is, in many ways, part of a development structure that perpetuates some of the problematic myths. But, as an African woman leading Christian Aid, I'm committed to helping reverse historical mistakes. I'm under no illusion that it makes everyone - including me - uncomfortable.

Perhaps the first step for all of us is to not make ourselves the heroes of the story. Let's see those we are helping or donating money to as people just like you and me - deserving of dignity and respect, but also able to play a part in changing their own futures.

✱  
**Amanda Khozi Mukwashi**  
*is the CEO of Christian Aid*





# Theresa May is the least of our worries

**Aditya  
Chakraborty**



**D**ramas need characters, politics requires politicians, and a storm must have an eye. Which is why at the dead centre of Brexit - the biggest and most multifaceted crisis to face this country in more than 60 years - there is just one person. She stands at a Commons dispatch box in an elegant outfit day after day, knowing that the evening will cover her in yet another dung-heap of humiliation that will be daubed all over the next morning's front pages.

All along her frontbench are colleagues just waiting for her to go, so they can take her job and move into her Downing Street home. On her backbenches are MPs who shamelessly boast to journalists their

fantasies about putting her in a "noose" and "knifing her in the front". She is derided, she is hated, she is the target for some of the most outrageous abuse ever to be heaped on a 62-year-old woman from Eastbourne.

In a democracy intent on beating itself up, Theresa May has become the nation's punchbag. On radio phone-ins, the callers pour bile upon her. On TV sofas, pundits speculate about how many days she has left at No 10. When she isn't attracting derision, she attracts something arguably worse for a politician: pity. Her voice has gone and, the theory goes, she will soon follow.

I understand much of this sentiment, but I want to argue here that it is misdirected. Of course, May is hopeless and cynical and robotic. In the tragedy of her premiership she has played a not insignificant role. Yet I cannot place too much of the blame on a woman who is ultimately cleaning up one useless man's mess, even while a bunch of other useless men wait for her to finish, simply so they can vie for her job. When these days are long gone and the judgments are all in, I am confident that David Cameron will be seen as the true architect of this chaos. He insisted on holding the referendum, he brought the date forward, he told everyone he'd win - even while imposing spending cuts that ensured he wouldn't. Yet for the Bullingdon prime minister, the deserts have proved to be a handsome advance for his memoirs and high-paying gigs on the after-dinner circuit. I am sceptical that such rewards await May.

But something more profound is going on here. The UK is in the middle of a crisis of governability. This is a country in mutinous mood. The factors driving that are complex: austerity, decades of the deliberate hollowing out of nations and regions, a form of capitalism that has lost much of its sense of responsibility and institutional counterweight. But the result is clear: whoever was governing now would find the task close to impossible. It just so happens that May is also especially bad at it.

But which Conservative do you honestly think would be so much better? It was once the biggest mass-membership party in Britain; it now numbers somewhere below 150,000, and of its members only one in 20 is below 25 years of age. The professionalisation of politicians that has been so much a feature of the past three decades is clearly visible across its frontbenches, laden as they are with people who have glided from careers in Westminster or investment banking or journalism straight into a true-blue seat, with no danger of immersion in ordinary life.

Britain has created a political class set thoroughly apart from those it seeks to represent. This process has been going on for decades and it has affected Labour ranks as much as Tory. This is why the EU referendum came as such a shock to them; it is also why so many lack any real idea of where to go from here. May represents this failure, but she is one of many.

By all means, blame her for the stupid game-playing, the partisanship, the rote repetition of meaningless phrases. Or reach back into her past, and castigate her for the Go Home vans, the immigrant-bashing and the willingness to make spending cuts. All of this is true; but none of it is central to what has gone wrong. Those who cry out in newspaper columns or on social media for "genuine leadership", whatever that means, miss the point. This is not an age for leaders; it is the era in which their followers count for far more. Jeremy Corbyn is one reflection of that truth; a weekend gardener and former backbench MP who sits at the head of a mass movement that is - as he would say - far more interesting than him.

Britain has spent 40-plus years arrogating more and more power to its centre - and now its centre has no idea of how to wield that power. That I think is the fundamental political and economic crisis we face today. Revile May if you wish. But don't kid yourself that her successor will do any better.



# Brexit fantasies that left us staring into the abyss

Parliament is in the Brexit endgame, as your leader notes, where it now faces a clear choice (Tories who embrace chaos and delusion demean the Commons and the country, 14 March). The idea that, at this late stage, the UK should crash out of the EU without a deal is absurd. Large numbers of firms and jobs in manufacturing would disappear. The prospect of no deal has been kept on the negotiating table for two years, to give our negotiators some leverage, but any last-ditch attempts at seriously pursuing this destructive fantasy must be stopped. I voted last night to take no deal off the table.

Those Brexiteers who remain wedded to this fantasy need to face reality. We either leave the EU with the deal we are offered or risk there being no Brexit at all, which is now a real prospect. How would MPs representing constituencies that voted leave face the electorate if we allow the result of the referendum to be stolen, as a result of our failure to pass a Brexit deal next week?

**Frank Field MP**  
*Independent, Birkenhead*

● Owen Jones bravely argues for finding a middle ground on Brexit (The only way back from the abyss is the middle ground, 14 March). Jones blames the dangerous polarisation on the nationalist right but also directs his fire at the “continuity remainers”, absolute in their determination to overturn the 2016 referendum result. Andrew Adonis and co have been maximalist in their focus on a revote. But Jones omits

the key reason they have had such influence: the absence of political leadership from Labour has left a vacuum which they have filled.

I laid out the case for a Norway-style compromise in Compass 18 months ago. Keir Starmer clearly wanted to go that way. Instead there has been delay and distraction; plenty of talk about resolutions and processes, precious little policy.

The main reason for the policy void has been the influence of Lexiteers around the Labour leadership. They welcome Brexit and have prevented Labour from pursuing a Norway-style option. It’s easy for Jones to bash “Blairites”. He needs to call out the “socialism in one country” nationalists too.

**Jon Bloomfield**  
*Birmingham*

● Owen Jones is so determined to promote the Brexit compromise line that he rebukes those of us who don’t believe in it for conceding “that austerity is an economic necessity rather than a political choice”. That is a non sequitur and seems an uncharacteristic slur. Yes there would be economic costs from a soft Brexit, even assuming that negotiations could be concluded relatively quickly and painlessly, but the prime argument against such an arrangement is political. We would have no say, so it would be the reverse of taking back control. It would be much more of a democratic betrayal than having a new democratic process.

**Dr Ron Glatter**  
*Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire*

● Owen Jones warns against regarding those who voted leave in 2016 as “ignorant”. But they were, of course – we all were at that time! The real difference is between those of us who have had to learn a great deal of which we were previously ignorant and those (like the European Research Group) who have chosen not to do so – and who should indeed be called stupid.

**Professor Peter Clarke**  
*Cambridge*

● Theresa May is behaving like an old-fashioned parent who, when their child will not eat their (overcooked) greens, serves it up cold again for the next meal and the one after that (May’s final warning to Tory rebels: back me or lose Brexit, 14 March). As well as lacking insight, she is inconsistent. Why is it legitimate and necessary to hold a second and even a third vote on essentially the same proposition, while it is the end of democracy as we know it to consult the people again?

**Margaret Pelling**  
*Oxford*

● It’s never a good idea to make a life-changing decision when all the facts and implications are not clear. Not when getting married, emigrating, buying a house, or changing your job and moving your family. As parliament is in total chaos about

“**It’s easy for Owen Jones to bash ‘Blairites’. He needs to call out the ‘socialism in one country’ nationalists too**

**Jon Bloomfield**

Brexit’s true implications, costs and long-term effects on us all, surely now is the time to revoke article 50, and take a deep breath. Then take the time necessary to plan a well-organised nationwide conversation, through assembly meetings, and wide-ranging consultation, about the future of our country, our preferred expenditure, priorities and of course our relations with Europe. The frantic hurry engendered by the current panic at Westminster is risking far too much.

**Anna Ford**  
*London*

● It seems that extensions are all the rage, as the Dior exhibition at the V&A is now to run until 1 September. At least it is a far prettier sight than the Brexit debate.

**Jane Moth**  
*Snettisham, Norfolk*

● I would be happy with a short, time-limited extension of article 50. Forty years would seem about right for starters.

**Colin Fildes**  
*Sheffield*

● Is it now time for a government of national unity led by Caroline Lucas?

**Pam Lunn**  
*Kenilworth, Warwickshire*

● So much head-spinning political hokey cokey. Really, what does it matter whether we’re in, out or shaking Brexit all about when, as the environmental activists interviewed for your feature (‘We can’t stand by and do nothing’, G2, 14 March) make so clear, the main focus of our energies ought to be on saving the much-abused planet for generations to come? Whatever path gives us the best chance of achieving that is the one we should take, and urgently.

**Nick Barton**  
*Henstridge, Somerset*



## Israel-Gaza violence and the struggle for Middle East peace

We, Israelis committed to peace, strongly welcome the report of the UN inquiry into the horrifying killing of Palestinian demonstrators in Gaza (UN says Israel may be guilty of war crimes over Gaza, 1 March). The UN report confirms that almost none of the 189 Palestinians killed and over 9,000 injured by our forces in the weekly demonstrations since last March posed any direct threat to Israel or to its citizens. Many were shot while peacefully protesting hundreds of metres away from the Gaza fence.

The 2 million inhabitants of Gaza are caged in an open-air prison, forcibly isolated from the rest of Palestinian society. These people have every right and reason to protest, yet are shot at with live ammunition when they do so.

The UN Human Rights Council, which mandated the inquiry,

is an imperfect body, but the UN commission of inquiry was independent. Its report is a truthful and objective indictment of Israel’s brutal crackdown, while also addressing Palestinian violations.

As the first anniversary of the start of the protests on 30 March draws closer, the world must put a stop to this ongoing killing. Next week, countries of the world will have to take a position on the UN report at the Human Rights Council in Geneva. We urge all countries, including the UK, to support it unambiguously.

**Prof Michael Ben-Yair, Avraham Burg, Dr Ilana Hammerman, Prof David Harel, Alex Levac, Prof Yehuda Judd Ne’eman, Prof David Shulman, Prof Zeev Sternhell**

● Thank you for your perceptive article, which gives not only a good overview of the realities and recent

history of life in the West Bank and Israel but also Palestinians’ perspectives on one as opposed to two states (The struggle for peace: One-state solution gains ground among Palestinians battling for rights, 14 March).

Indeed the one-(democratic)-state’s time has come: inequality for Palestinian citizens of Israel, progressively less space and autonomy in the West Bank, no longer even a wisp of sovereignty over Jerusalem – all played against the tired political cantus firmus of the two-state mantra – has led Bassem Tamimi, Saeb Erekat, Fadi Quran and thousands of others to openly stand up for a single democracy in historic Palestine.

There are now at least six groups worldwide that are organised to promote one democratic state (ODS), based in the West Bank and Gaza, in Israel, in England, in Switzerland, in the US and in Holland. Over a decade ago four seminal books on ODS came out – by Ghada Karmi, Ali Abunimah, Virginia Tilley and Mazin Qumsiyeh. A dozen academic/

activist conferences on ODS have been held in as many years. The idea that all Palestinians (yes, including the refugees) can be citizens alongside all present citizens of Israel in a reunited country is, for those who believe in human rights and a normal democracy, the only solution.

**Blake Alcott**  
*Director, ODS in Palestine*

● In a spirit of objectivity, I look forward to reading in the Guardian an article on the life of the Israeli residents of Sderot across the border from Gaza (Caged generation: Young lives blighted behind wire of ‘world’s largest prison’, 13 March), under constant rocket attacks and petrol bombs attached to balloons setting fire to their crops. You rightly recall “a time when thousands of Palestinians worked in Israel”. Why “few young people have met an Israeli” is because terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians forced Israel to close the crossing.

**Alec Nacamuli**  
*London*

## BBC’s well-received history of Ireland

It may be true that “Irish affairs had long been regarded with a mixture of indifference and apathy in England”, as Dr Peter Neville asserts (Letters, 13 March), but it is misleading to say the BBC neglected Irish history until Robert Kee’s “excellent television history of Ireland” in 1980. In 1972 the BBC made a 10-part series entitled Ireland: Some Episodes From Her Past, followed by two further “specials”. The series was produced by Howard Smith, who wrote an accompanying book, drawing on the expertise of such eminent Irish historians as FSL Lyons, JC Beckett and Oliver MacDonagh. The series was well received, both in the North and in the Republic, where one paper approvingly described the opening episode as a “quick trot through 700 years of bondage”.

The series was repeated in 1974. **Giles Oakley**  
*Researcher, Ireland: Some Episodes From Her Past*



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**Face painting**

*‘A mural at the port in Rio de Janeiro in February 2019’*

ROBERT BOELL/  
GUARDIAN COMMUNITY

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**Corrections and clarifications**

● We said that so far this year nine teenagers had been fatally stabbed “in London, Birmingham and Manchester”. That should have said “... and Greater Manchester”, and the total is 10. An accompanying panel wrongly listed Yorkshire, instead of Greater Manchester, as an area in which these deaths had occurred (Knife crime up most steeply outside London as county lines dealing spreads, 11 March, page 14). Another article (Knife crime: 690 child victims in West Midlands, 12 March, page 1) said the data it discussed related to under-16s, when it was for under-17s.

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**Yet another spiffing gaffe from Johnson**

What a spiffing fellow Boris Johnson is. I was left spitting and spluttering after reading his latest stupendous, stupid, statement (‘Stop spaffing money on historic abuse cases,’ says Johnson, 14 March). Not only does it entirely ignore the feelings of people who may have suffered sexual abuse, he seems to have forgotten how much money he “spaffed” on useless water cannon and a garden bridge in London. He should at least make some recompense from his own pocket for the money squandered.  
**Celia Coram**  
*Hackney, London*

● One cheer for the chancellor’s move (Hammond to promise funds to end period poverty in English schools, 9 March). To qualify for the other two cheers, remove the underlying problem: ensure that no household is so poor that women and girls cannot afford to buy sanitary protection, and exempt all these products from VAT.  
**Katy Jennison**  
*Witney, Oxfordshire*

● A discussion of British Jewish theatre (‘We’ve been ashamed of our voice’, G2, 13 March) and no mention of Jack Rosenthal, who wrote episodes for mainstream TV series and overtly Jewish plays – Bar Mitzvah Boy, The Evacuees? A pity.  
**Pauline Strong**  
*Hertford*

● My hopes were raised when I saw the headline “Has Zidane killed off skinny jeans?” (G2, 13 March). Alas, the fashion police said no.  
**Mary Glazier**  
*Broughton, Flintshire*

● Nice to see a full racing card for Cheltenham in Wednesday’s Guardian. Just like the good old days.  
**Bob Lamb**  
*Chester*

Established 1906

**Country diary**  
*Ness, Lewis, Outer Hebrides*

In my youth, Druim Fraoich – or Heather Ridge – was often full of noises. At night, there might be the twanging of guitars or the pounding of an accordion coming from Ness Hall, built in the 1960s on the site of a former quarry.

During the day, its stone cliffs – where my father started work with pickaxe and hammer at the age of 14 – were home to twites and sparrows. Their chirping would accompany me as I dawdled home from Cross primary school in the neighbouring village.

For all that the ceilidh music has long hushed, Ness Hall having closed a few years ago, the birds still perch there, an insistent chorus as I walk my childhood route to school. I stride through the village of North Dell, aware that some are still crofting there, though in a different way from their predecessors. Polytunnels are now as common as byres and outhouses, and pigs, rather than cattle, are churning up soil near old school walls.

It would be easy to be negative about some of these changes, to note that, according to a recent study by Donald Macritchie, a local maths teacher, the population of north-west Lewis has declined from 2,445 in 1979 to 1,610 in January 2019. More than a third of its residents are over the age of 65.

Yet that would be to overlook the district’s spirit, the way its residents have tried to stem the outward drift of people from these shores. The community took over the running of the Galson estate, between the Butt of Lewis lighthouse and the stone monolith at Ballantrushal, in 2007, employing more than 30 people where no jobs existed before, and finding a new use for Cross primary, which closed due to falling rolls in 2011.

At present, the old school building is again full of noises. Drills and hammers are transforming it into a new museum for Comunn Eachdraidh Nis, the Ness historical society. When it opens in early 2020, there will be photographs and exhibits displayed in the rooms where I used to sit and peer out of windows, watching twites and sparrows, hordes of starlings clouding stretches of moor and croftland nearby.  
**Donald S Murray**



Twitter: @gdncountrydiary  
ILLUSTRATION: CLIFFORD HARPER

**Risks of privatising NHS scanner service**

We are writing as elected public governors of Oxford University Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust, to clarify some of the facts outlined in your article (Top cancer hospital loses scanning services to private sector, 7 March).

We are at a loss to understand how the scanning service at the Churchill hospital could be contracted to another provider. The Churchill hospital has worldwide recognition for its research, for its training of nuclear medicine cancer doctors, as well as for outstanding cancer diagnostic provision.

Most importantly, the scanning service at the Churchill is embedded in the rest of the treatment and services provided by the trust for its patients, with all the medical and clinical support available on site.

It is difficult for us to understand how the Churchill’s PET-CT scanning service could be better provided by

a private company which has less, or even no, experience in all three of these areas.

Since NHS England’s proposals impact on patients, and represent a fundamental change to the services available to them, there is a statutory requirement that the proposal be reviewed by Oxfordshire county council’s joint health and overview scrutiny committee. This committee, which will meet on 4 April, can refer this matter to the secretary of state for health and social care, who in turn can refer it to the independent reconfiguration panel for further review.

In the meantime, we are concerned about the significant impact that this proposal is having on all the highly qualified, experienced and extremely professional clinicians and their team colleagues working at the Churchill hospital.

**Rosie Herring**  
**Anita Higham**  
*Elected public governors of Oxford University Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust*

**We can’t afford to let local news fade away**

John Harris is right (The demise of local radio is fuelling a new age of ‘Unplace’, 12 March). Britain faces a crisis in local news and the closure of radio stations exacerbates it. Such reporting is essential if local government is to be held to account, justice seen to be done and local communities empowered. But there are beacons of hope. Local TV stations such as KMTV provide scrutiny every day. Our reporters attend council meetings and courts. They bring the views of Kent MPs direct to their constituents. KMTV is dedicated to “the provision of local news and content” that Jeremy Hunt sought in his 2014 speech to the Oxford Media Convention. We ask only that ministers find ways to support what they wished into existence. Meagre advertising revenue alone cannot fund public interest journalism.  
**Tim Luckhurst**  
*Director, KMTV*





## Alessandro Mendini

### Anarchic Italian designer who helped shape the look of the 1980s

Playful is the word most often used to describe the work of Alessandro Mendini, the Italian designer, architect and editor, who has died aged 87. It is the quality you see in the apparently childlike simplicity of his drawings, with their bold, spiky ink lines, in his exuberant use of colour and in the way he turned household objects into whimsical anthropomorphic creatures, such as his smiling Anna G corkscrew, one of Alessi's bestsellers. Even in his architecture he sometimes seemed to be trying to create lifelike dolls' houses. His best-known piece of furniture, the Proust armchair, is a baroque fantasy decorated with brushstrokes borrowed from the French pointillist painter Paul Signac.

But given the important part that he played in Italy's "radical design" movement, anarchic, rather than playful, might be a better description of Mendini's intentions. He wanted to rescue design from the cult of functionalism, and show that objects could have more complex layers of meaning than

*Mendini was Alessi's creative director for four decades. One of his bestselling designs was the Anna G corkscrew, below*

LEONARDO CENDARMO/GETTY IMAGES; ALESSI



simply signalling their purpose, or hinting at how new or expensive they were.

Mendini led the Italian contribution to the wave of postmodernism that transformed the look of the 1980s, in everything from skyscrapers to album covers. He satirised modernism by "improving" classic modern chairs. Marcel Breuer's tubular steel Wassily chair from the Bauhaus got a new colour scheme in what Mendini called the Bauhaus Side 2 collection. Thanks to Mendini, Gerrit Rietveld's Zig-Zag chair sprouted a cross-shaped back. It was a deliberately transgressive approach, representing a determination not to be obvious that pointed the way for other Milanese designers, notably the fashion designers Elio Fiorucci and, later, Miuccia Prada.

Some of Mendini's most successful work was to help brands such as Swatch and Alessi establish their design credentials. He met Alberto Alessi in 1977 and worked as creative director for the company for four decades. Mendini gave a face, arms and a powder-blue dress to the bestselling Alessi bottle opener that he named after a friend. Later, he

created a self-portrait in the form of the Alessandro M corkscrew.

At the other end of the scale he was the architect – though orchestrator is a better description – of the monumental Groninger Museum in the Netherlands, which opened in 1994. Mendini envisaged an architectural version of André Breton's surrealist game of the exquisite corpse, with three wings each designed by a different architect, stitched loosely together, Frankenstein's-monster style.

He invited the French designer Philippe Starck and his fellow Italian Michele de Lucchi to take on their own sections. The artist Frank Stella was to have been the third player, but he dropped out after his idea for a Teflon-coated gallery proved impractical, and he was replaced by the Austrian architects Coop Himmelb(l)au. Mendini took on the design of the entrance, marked by a golden, windowless tower topped by ornamental flagpoles.

None of the individual pieces relates to the others, and yet the resulting train crash has a powerful presence, summing up Mendini's vision of design as a multilayered collage. It was certainly Europe's most astonishing new building until Frank Gehry completed the Guggenheim in Bilbao.

Born into a prosperous Milanese family, the son of Vincenzo Mendini, a lawyer, and his wife, Fulvia Di Stefano, Mendini had an early memory of being propped up next to his twin sister, Mia, on a zigzag-patterned armchair designed by Piero Portaluppi. On the wall opposite hung a painting by Giorgio de Chirico's brother, Alberto Savinio. "That was my first habitat," Mendini remembered.

## Birthdays

**Lord (David) Alton**, former Lib Dem MP, 68; **Isobel Buchanan**, operatic soprano, 65; **Lord (Robert) Carnwath of Notting Hill**, justice of the supreme court, 74; **David Cronenberg**, film director, 76; **Howard Devoto**, musician, 67; **Frank Dobson**, former Labour MP and minister, 79; **John Duttine**, actor, 70; **Sunetra Gupta**, epidemiologist and author, 54; **Dame Deirdre Hutton**, chair, Civil Aviation Authority, 70; **Lord (Richard) Layard**, economist, 85; **Inez Lynn**, former librarian, the London Library, 59; **Ben Okri**, author, 60; **Sir Anwar Pervez**, founder, Bestway Group, 84; **Lord (Andrew) Phillips of Sudbury**, solicitor and former chancellor, University of Essex, 80; **Lynda La Plante**, writer, 76; **Sly Stone**, musician, 76; **Terence Trent D'Arby (Sananda Maitreya)**, singer, 57; **will.i.am**, musician, 44.

He graduated in architecture from the Polytechnic of Milan in 1959, then worked as an assistant in Marcello Nizzoli's studio, which had designed some of Olivetti's most significant products. But Mendini initially made his mark not as an architect or a designer, but as an editor, when he took over the influential design magazine Casabella in 1970. His wife, Lidia Prandi, worked alongside him as a contributor and occasional co-designer.

He set up his own magazine, Modo, in 1977, and was a leader of the Alchimia group established in 1979 that moved beyond the political stance of radical design into a more personal exploration of postmodernism. Mendini edited Domus (1980-85), and co-founded Domus Academy, a private design school, in Milan in 1982.

It was only after 1989 when Mendini and his younger brother Francesco established Atelier Mendini that he began to work on large-scale architectural projects around the world. From 2000 onwards, they coordinated the design of a dozen new stations on the Naples metro.

Mendini was able to span the gap between high culture and the high street, between abstruse theory and unabashed populism. In 1980, the year that the Venice biennale "invented" postmodernism in architecture, Mendini recruited Michael Graves and Hans Hollein, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown to design for Alessi, then later Starck and his notorious lemon squeezer, in the belief that the movement was applicable to product design as well as architecture.

Long after postmodernism had gone out of fashion, Mendini's work was still full of energy and experimentation. He worked on Incheon's design district in South Korea and collaborated with Supreme, the LA street fashion label.

His marriage to Lidia ended in divorce. He is survived by their daughters, Fulvia and Elisa, and his sister, Mia, and brother, Francesco. **Deyan Sudjic**

*Alessandro Mendini, designer, architect and editor, born 16 August 1931; died 18 February 2019*

## Announcements

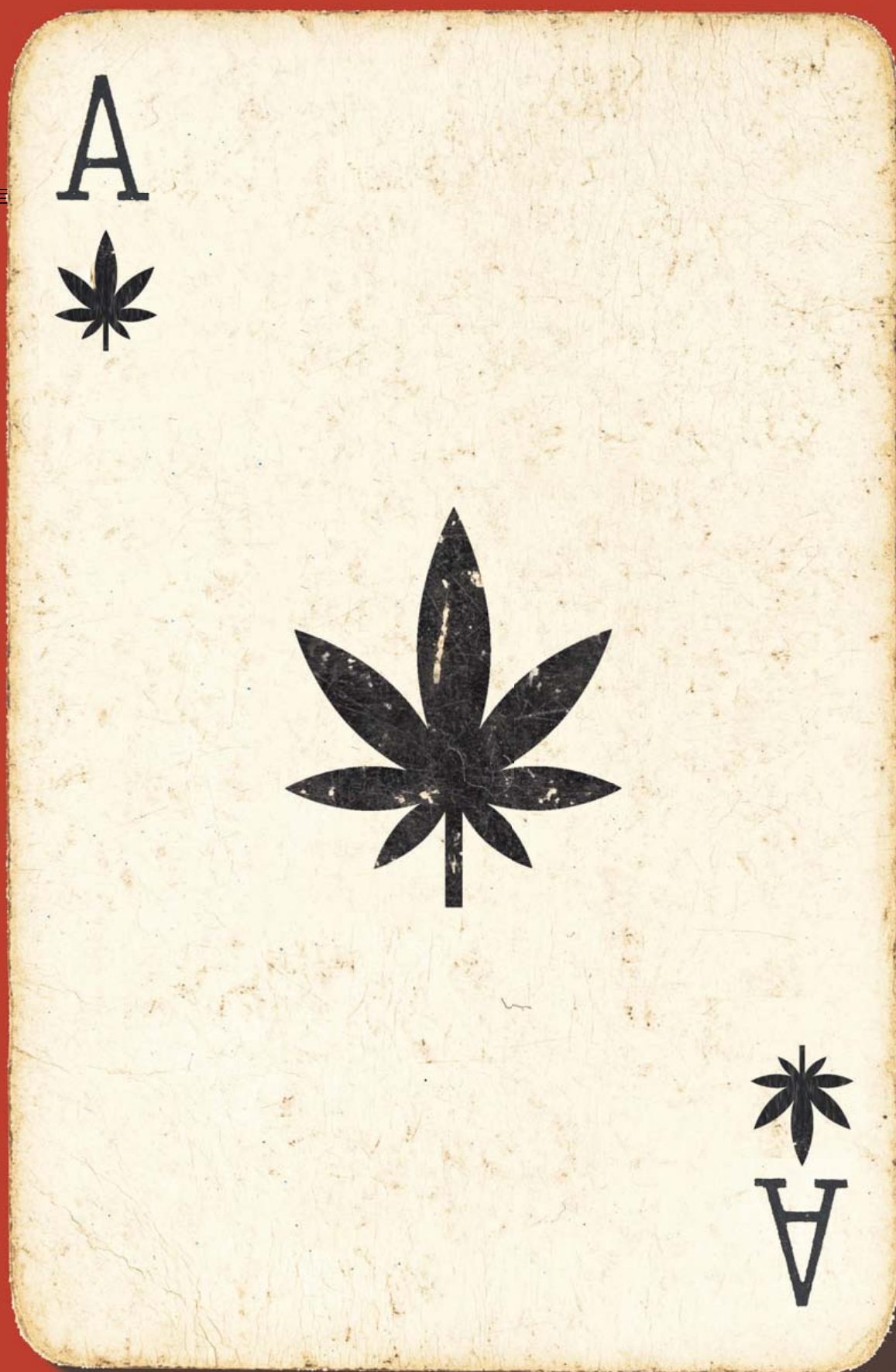
### Deaths

**ADDEN (nee FERRIMAN), Sue.** Died peacefully at the Whittington Hospital on 13 March 2019, aged 74. Talented artist and much loved wife of John, mother of Lucy and Zoe, grandmother of Luke and Sam, sister of Elizabeth and Annabel.

For Announcements, Acknowledgments, Adoptions, Anniversaries, Birthdays, Births, Deaths, Engagements, Memorial Services and In Memoriam, phone 020 3353 2114 or email: announcements@theguardian.com including your name, address and telephone number between 10am and 11am Mon-Fri.

**He pointed the way for other Milanese designers, such as Elio Fiorucci and, later, Miuccia Prada**





**The long read**

# **From casinos to cannabis** **A new deal for** **Native Americans**

Gambling transformed US reservations 40 years ago, but often enriched only a few. Could the legal marijuana business prove more broadly beneficial?

*By David Treuer*







In February 2015, amid the cedar masks, canoe paddles and totem poles at the Tulalip Resort Casino north of Seattle, the talk was all about pot. Indian country had been abuzz about cannabis since the previous autumn, when the Justice Department had released a memorandum which seemed to open the way for tribal cannabis as a manifestation of tribal sovereignty. (I grew up Ojibwe on a reservation in Minnesota, and I use the word “Indian” to refer to indigenous people within the US. I also use “indigenous”, “Native” and “American Indian”. These terms have come in and out of favour over the years, and different tribes, and different people, have different preferences.)

The gathering at Tulalip was technically a legal education conference, so a slew of lawyers in thousand-dollar suits were there, of course, but so were private-equity entrepreneurs, tribal officials and tribal potheads. One of the last – a gangly twenty- or thirtysomething wearing Chuck Taylors, a very ripped T-shirt and a headband that held back his lank hair – slouched low in his chair and didn’t speak a word all day. His companions spoke a bit more, but with the sleepy demeanour of people who have just purchased a dime bag and smoked it all. They didn’t talk business as much as they talked relationships: We have a relationship with pot. It’s a medicine from Mother Earth. Like, cannabis is tribal. It’s consistent with our relationship with Mother Earth.

Wandering among them were tribal small-business owners, people who ran gravel companies or sold smoked fish or espresso along the freeway. They had forked over \$500 for lunch and a name tag to explore what marijuana legalisation might mean for their community – or maybe to explore where the pay dirt lay at the intersection of legalisation and tribal sovereignty.

The lawyers and policy people gave talks about state laws; the history of marijuana legalisation in California, Colorado and Washington; and the social, cultural and political ramifications of legalisation. Tribal leaders spoke about the ways tribal growing could be a whole new revenue stream, if not a new tribal industry. Behind these discussions were coded questions, old and new: How best to provide for a people in the absence of industry and opportunity? How to use tribal sovereignty to the best possible effect? Did tribes really want to invest in another “lifestyle economy” like tobacco shops, casinos and tourism? No one knew what to make of the potheads.

The received notion – reinforced at every turn in editorials and investigative pieces and popular culture – is that reservations are where Indians go to suffer and die. They are seen by many Indians as well as non-Indians not as expressions of tribal survival, however twisted or flawed, but as little more than prisons, expressions of the perversion of American democratic ideals into greed – a greed rapacious enough to take Indian land and decimate Indian populations, but not quite harsh enough to annihilate us outright.

But reservations are not stagnant places. Despite their staggering rates of unemployment, they are home not only to traditional ways of living but to new tribal business as well. Pot as a tribal industry has a parent: the casino. Arguably, the casino’s arrival in Indian country had as defining an effect on the social and economic lives of Indians in the past 50 years as the mass migration of Indians to American cities. Many Indians refer to the time before tribal gaming as “BC” – Before Casino.

By 1987, gaming enterprises were under way across the country, with the biggest concentration of casinos in California and Oklahoma. The courts were still deliberating the questions of rights v regulation, but Indians – having waited for so many years to have their sovereignty affirmed – were not. The increase in funding for tribal programmes throughout the 70s, the emphasis on improving access to education, support for the poor, funding for healthcare – all of this positioned Indians to move, and move fast. By the mid-80s, elected tribal leaders had gained 40 years of experience in Indian Rights Association governments, and 40 years of experience in dealing with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and state and federal governments.

They had become expert at playing with soft power,

and were prepared to make the most of the opportunity for gaming. Within a year of the tribes winning the right to open casinos in California, gaming was bringing in \$100m a year. The door to economic development – at least in the realm of gambling – seemed to have been flung wide open.

But the states, a powerful lobby in their own right, were determined to have a stake in Indian gambling, or at least some measure of control. The federal government felt the same way. So in 1988, Congress passed and Reagan signed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (Igra), which codified the process by which tribes administered gambling.

After the act was passed, Indian gaming boomed. Revenues grew to more than \$26bn in 2009 – more than Vegas and Atlantic City combined. Despite the influx of money, however, gaming changed little for most Indians. Like all American avenues to wealth, casinos privilege the few and leave out the majority. But, at Tulalip, signs of a possible third way have emerged.

It might seem surprising to suggest that, in order to find America, you need to look at Indian communities and reservations. But it’s true. The questions posed by America’s founding documents and early history – What is the reach of the federal government? What should it be? How to balance the rights of the individual against those of the collective? What is, at the end of the day, the proper role of the federal government in our social structures and lives? How to balance the demands of community and modernity? How to preserve and foster the middle class? – are answered by looking at Indians, at our communities and our history.

**Two months after the “pot summit”,** I sat across from Eddy Pablo in a Minneapolis casino. He had come armed with notes and handouts about marijuana legalisation, medical uses of marijuana and tribal dispositions about legalisation and capitalisation at Tulalip. Eddy is about 5ft 10in, with an absurdly strong build, dark skin, small eyes and spiky black hair in a neat crew cut. He’s 31, with three children, and he is on the make.

“I’ve lived here my whole life. Both my parents are from here. I’m thankful for it.” He is soft-spoken but gives off a sense that nothing bothers him. Yet there is plainly a kind of seething energy underneath. “My high school was a subtle racist high school. Not so much the kids. But the teachers had no expectations for us. All of us Indian kids were underperforming. If you have low expectations, then that’s all the kid will strive for. I wanted to go to college but my sophomore English grade was crappy. They put me in a special reading class.”

This was followed by depression and tutoring. He made it to community college but it didn’t stick. He ran afoul of the law and landed in jail. After he got out, he got hooked on diving for geoduck (freshwater clams). “You don’t get to dive very much. Maybe eight days a year. But a boat can make 13k in three hours.” Eddy becomes more animated when he talks about being on the water.

The next day he picks me up to go digging for clams on Cama Beach Point. His car is packed with five-gallon buckets, shovels, rakes and his son, Cruz, tucked in the backseat. As we drive, he points out the landmarks. The Tulalip Reservation – 22,000 acres of Indian land – sits

*A cannabis dispensary on the Tulalip Indian Reservation north of Seattle*  
GENNA MARTIN



between Interstate 5 and Puget Sound just north of Seattle. It is indescribably beautiful.

“That’s where I grew up,” he says, pointing at a nondescript house facing a silty bay that was, until relatively recently, thick with salmon. Cedar, until recently, grew down to the shore.

Unlike most tribes, people here are doing all right, economically speaking. In fact, they are doing very well. The median household income at Tulalip is a comfortable \$68,000 per year, well above the national average. Tribal members do get a per-capita payment from gaming revenues, though according to Eddy it’s not more than \$15,500 a year.

The tribe, as a collective, as a business, is doing better as well. Every tribal building is new. The tribal office where Eddy picked up our permit is a soaring architectural treasure. There’s also the youth centre, the museum, the cultural centre – all of them cedar-clad. Where once the tribe’s wealth could be measured in fish, it can now be measured in income and infrastructure.

As for Eddy, without a degree and with three kids to support, he hustles. He sees marijuana as something that can be added to the mix. “We should get in the business,” he says. “Not just opening dispensaries. Or growing. Our sovereignty can give us a leg up. We should grow, process and dispense. We could control the whole chain.” I wonder out loud if the tribe really wants to hitch itself to another lifestyle economy – like cigarettes and gambling.

“Look,” says Eddy. “Heroin is here. People die from that. No one dies from pot. And the tribe wants it. The people want it. We did a survey and 78% (of tribal members) voted yes for bringing our (tribal) code in line with the state. Fifty-three per cent wanted to open it up only to medical marijuana and 25% wanted that and recreational use to be legal. It could be our niche.”

By now we’ve reached the beach. We have only an hour, two at most, to dig and sort. Soon the water will come back in and cover the clam beds. So much of life at Tulalip has the same kind of rhythm – small windows in which one can make a lot of money, slow spells when none is to be made. It’s not the kind of labour that breeds confidence or even certainty. So how, I ask, does he make ends meet? What’s his job?

He gets his per-cap from the tribe. He crabs a few days. He dives a few days. He goes after geoduck and sea cucumber and salmon. And in the same manner he runs his fireworks stand at Boom City in the summer.

“You’ve got to see it,” he says. “You wouldn’t believe it. A fireworks bazaar. Bigger than anything. And there’s a place to light them off. It’s like world war three.” He seems to think this is a good thing. And in a way I suppose it is, just like his whole operation: a patchwork of opportunities that are exploited aggressively and together add up to a living. A good one.

“We have a story,” says Eddy as we drive away. “When all else fails, we were instructed to dig. The clams are always there. There’s food waiting there.”

**In addition to opening new avenues** to wealth – and creating a wealth gap in Indian country – casinos have had another major effect: they’ve thrown into stark relief the vexing question of who gets to be Indian at all.

America’s first “blood-quantum” law was passed in Virginia in 1705, in order to determine who had a high enough degree of Indian blood to be classified an Indian – and whose rights could be restricted as a result. Blood quantum was simply a measure of how much Indian blood (full blood, half, quarter, eighth) a person had. It was often wildly inaccurate, culturally incongruous and socially divisive. It is still used to determine who can be an enrolled member of some federally recognised tribes, and it is just as divisive now as it was then.

You’d think, after all these years, we’d finally manage to kick the concept. But recently, casino-rich Indian tribes have been using it to disenroll those whose bloodlines, they say, are not pure enough to share in the profits.

As of 2017, more than 50 tribes across the country have banished or disenrolled at least 8,000 tribal members in the past two decades. Many different rationales have been used to justify it, but it’s telling that 73% of the tribes kicking out members have gaming operations.

What’s fascinating to me is that the whole question of culture didn’t become part of the conversation about





who is and who isn’t Indian at all until the period AC – After Casinos. True, being Indian (as something one did in addition to being something one simply was) began back with the Red Power movement and was amplified by the American Indian Movement (AIM), which, at the start, was primarily concerned with Indians’ economic independence and freedom from police brutality. But in those early discussions and actions, being Indian was more a matter of politics and emotional affinity than a matter of culture. Even the religions claimed by AIM were antagonistic and political: AIMsters danced the Sun Dance as a way of saying “We’re not you” more than as a positive assertion of religious identity. But after casinos began injecting millions and then billions of dollars into Indian economies, culture really came to the fore of discussions of Indianness.

By the end of the 1990s, there was enough cushion for enough Indians and enough money to begin pondering, in earnest, what being Indian meant. They had enough space in their lives to want to connect to their tribes in ways that were value-positive, that didn’t see being Indian as a matter of being a full-blood or being enrolled or being simply “dark”, as had been the case when I was growing up. Rather, being Indian became a matter of knowing your language, attending ceremony, harvesting game and wild rice or piñon or salmon. Being Indian was still to some degree a matter of blood, but it was also in the process of becoming about much more.

The struggles of Indian people across the country are bound up in what it means to be Indian. But to be Indian is not to be poor or to struggle. To believe in sovereignty, to let it inform not only one’s political and legal existence but also one’s community, to move through the world imbued with the dignity of that reality, is to resolve one of the major contradictions of modern Indian life: it is to find a way to be Indian and modern simultaneously.

**The cannabis industry has started modestly** at Tulalip. It is unclear what it will bring or where it will end. Some, like Eddy, think pot shouldn’t necessarily be a tribal enterprise, but rather something tribal individuals can participate in, another small-business opportunity that can help make up an income. But how the tribe will exploit the cannabis market collectively is an open question, dependent not only on the unique politics at Tulalip but also on the way tribes do business in general.

Les Parks, the former tribal vice-chairman of the Tulalip and current treasurer, has been at the forefront in trying to get the tribe into the business. While vice-chairman, he put together the “pot summit”. But after the summit and a subsequent election, Les stepped down, having “shot his bolt” on the whole issue, according to him, and having failed to overrule those who opposed the idea. As on most other reservations, tribal enterprise at Tulalip is controlled by a small group of people who have grown up together in a very small community. A small village council can control millions on millions of dollars, and so big decisions are often, at their core, made for very personal reasons.

I’m met by Les, in bolo tie, boots and a very large, very new pickup truck. Les is proud of his community, and he has obviously given the tour of the reservation many times. But when I ask how much the casino makes, or the fisheries, or anything else, he is evasive. “Oh, we do OK. Every year we send \$62m in taxes to Olympia. That should give you an idea.”

It’s understandable that a wildly successful tribe like the Tulalip don’t want to say how much they’re pulling in. The federal government has treaty obligations to the Tulalip to provide for housing and services, among other things – obligations that, when all is going well, the government is only too happy to let slide. So the fiscal rhetoric of reservations is always one of want and need.

Les veers down a long, narrow road that ends near a creek feeding into the sound. This is where his family’s original allotment was. “My great-great-grandfather must have been important because this was a good place to live, right next to the creek. It would have been full of salmon.” But Les has suffered like so many Indians have suffered: he lost his mother to a drunk driver, his father wasn’t around very much. The house he grew up in was of rough-cut lumber and tar paper. He had a lot of brothers and sisters. There wasn’t much to go around.

## ‘We could use our sovereignty to fast-track clinical trials. We could do it faster and better than pharma companies’

Many of the people I talked to had similar stories. Here as elsewhere, survival was the principal challenge for Indians for well over a century. And from Les’s story, it’s clear that a tolerance for conflict, pain and uncertainty has been necessary to that survival. What, then, allows growth? What are the ingredients necessary for a community not only to make money, but to grow real wealth?

“My sister-in-law got Parkinson’s disease. It was horrible. Pot helped her. It helped her pain a lot.” But Les doesn’t want the tribe to sell pot. Or to only sell it. “I want us to use our sovereignty to fast-track clinical trials for the uses of marijuana extracts. We could do it faster and better than any of the pharmaceutical companies out there. We’re already talking to Bastyr University. That’s where I want us to go. There are a lot of uses for extracts and there is no pharmaceutical company in North America that is looking in that direction. We could be the first.” He looks off over the sound. “There’s even some research that suggests cannabis extracts can be used to cure type 2 diabetes. Think about that. Think about an Indian company, a tribal pharmaceutical company, that could cure the greatest threat to our health.”

Fifteen per cent of American Indians have diabetes, and in some communities, the rate is as high as 22%. And diabetes is only part of the problem. Along with high dropout, unemployment and poverty rates, Indians have a mortality rate from accidental death that is twice the national average. Life, for many of us, is not merely bleak: it’s short, poor, painful, unhealthy and tumultuous.

Just as Les moved from poverty to relative comfort in about 30 years, so too has the tribe. According to the Tribal Employment Rights Organization (Tero), there are 62 registered small businesses owned and operated by Indians on the Tulalip Reservation right now, but since businesses register annually, that swells to more than 160 when there’s a big project on the books. And that figure doesn’t seem to include fishermen, or the 139 fireworks stands at Boom City, or tribal businesses in areas that are technically off the reservation. When I add all that up, I figure at least a few hundred Indians are in on the hustle – no different, in their way, from the many who sell crafts on Etsy, auction game on eBay, plough driveways and make T-shirts on the side. There is, despite historical oppression and in contrast to the received stereotypes about Indians, an active and thriving entrepreneurial class at Tulalip.

The tribe has opened a dispensary, but hasn’t given up on Les’s bigger vision. “Even if we can’t do it, it should be done,” he says. I can’t help agreeing. Why shouldn’t the tribe, surrounded as it is by Boeing and Microsoft and Amazon, wed tribal enterprise and wealth to technological enterprise and wealth? A pharmaceutical company could be the way to bring Tulalip’s economy out from under the lifestyle economies that have marked, till now, tribal enterprise.

Tribal power is an interesting thing. With a structure like Tulalip’s, power rests in the hands of a very few, and the absence of term limits makes it easy to keep doing the same thing but very, very hard to do anything new.

**Boom City is exactly how it sounds.** For two weeks leading up to the Fourth of July, the largest fireworks

*The casino resort on the Tulalip Reservation*

RICHARD UHLHORN/  
ALAMY

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bazaar west of the Mississippi rises from the gravel on a vacant lot near the casino. Plywood shanties are trucked to the site and arranged in neat rows. The awnings are opened and the sale begins. Each of the 139 stands is stuffed with fireworks. All of the stands are Native-owned, and the action is administered by a board of directors, which in turn is administered by the tribe. All of the stands are painted brightly, and many bear equally colourful names: Up in Smoke, One Night Stand, Boom Boom Long Time, Porno for Pyro, Titty Titty Bang Bang. Others bespeak proud ownership: Mikey’s, Eddy’s, Junior’s.

It’s slow when I arrive at Eddy’s stand, but even so there is a lot of money changing hands. Fireworks – like gaming – are regulated by the state. And as sovereign nations, Indian tribes in states such as Washington, where fireworks are illegal, enjoy a monopoly on their sale. I find Eddy deep in his stand, trying to avoid the sun.

“The weather’s keeping people away. Too hot.” He also tells me business is slow because someone was caught earlier that day selling illegal fireworks nearby, and the incident has made customers skittish. “By Friday the cars will be backed up to the highway,” Eddy assures me. “If you’re the last man standing with a full load of fireworks on the last day, you can sell it all.”

The wholesalers set up shop on the outskirts of Boom City and circle around taking orders for the vendors. There are two espresso stands and a few food stands. Someone has lined the back of their pickup with a tarp and filled it with water, and five kids cavort and splash in it. Other kids, as young as four or five, walk through the stands chirping “Iced tea! Pop! Gatorade!” in a miniature mimic of the men and women selling fireworks who have perfected the banter of bazaar merchants the world over.

In the afternoon, the sound of fireworks can be heard nearby. There’s a field on the edge of Boom City set aside for setting them off. Just as fireworks can be sold on the “rez” but not in the state, so too can they be exploded on the rez. And Boom City is happy to provide the space. It’s a free-for-all. Rockets, mortars, roman candles, spinners. They all go off at once and continuously. A haze settles over the lot like the haze over a battlefield. Periodically, the security guards call a halt to the explosions, but only to make room for even larger ones: tribal members – and this seems to be a uniquely cultural thing – will light off upward of \$1,000 worth of fireworks as a “memorial” for someone in their family who has passed on. They are remembered with an exploding wall of sound.

Ideas aren’t quietly laid to rest here either. Having explored the possibility of teaming up with the Lummi nation to start a pharmaceutical company, and having met with resistance there as well, Les Parks has recently taken the project back. Political power waxes and wanes, and as the dynamics on the council shifted, Les has brought the idea of a pharmaceutical company back to Tulalip. This time he has more support.

I wander back to Eddy’s, dazed by the fireworks and by everything else I’ve seen at Tulalip. What I have seen here isn’t just what a tribe could be, but what America might be. If only. Tulalip is a conglomeration of separate tribes that came together (by choice, circumstance and under pressure) to form a nation. It has suffered its own internal divisions and traumas. It has endured natural and civic disasters, gone through recession and poverty and joblessness. But it has found a way to provide free healthcare for all, free education for those who want it, free (excellent) childcare for working parents, a safe and comfortable retirement option for its elders, and a robust safety net woven from per-capita payments that, while barely enough to support a single person and not enough to fully support a family, are enough to encourage its citizens to venture into enterprises small and large. The nation provides for its most vulnerable citizens – the young and the old. And it provides enough security for the people in between life’s beginnings and ends so that they can really see what they might become. ●

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